

YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES 35



THE EMPEROR AND ROME

Space, Representation, and Ritual

Edited by Björn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Noreña

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The Emperor and Rome

The transition from republic to monarchy with the accession of Augustus heralded the transformation not just of the Roman political system but of the city of Rome itself. This volume, written by some of the foremost scholars from around the world, addresses three main topics: the impact of imperial building programs on the configuration of space within the city and on the evolution of Rome's urban image; the various ways in which the figure of the emperor himself was represented, both visually and symbolically, in the city's urban fabric; and the performance of rituals and ceremonies that expressed key imperial ideals and values and enabled communications between the emperor and important collectivities in the city. The contributors build on important recent developments in research: increased archaeological excavation and restoration, the proliferation of digital technologies, and the greater attention paid by scholars to the centuries after Augustus.

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VOLUME XXXV

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Space, Representation, and Ritual

Edited for the Department of Classics by

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Contents

List of contributors [page vii]

List of illustrations [xi]

List of maps [xix]

Preface and acknowledgments [xxi]

1 Introduction [1]

Björn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Noreña

2 By the emperor, for the people: “popular” architecture in Rome [45]

Paul Zanker

3 Emperor and senatorial aristocracy in competition for public space [89]

Werner Eck

4 Propaganda, staged applause, or local politics? Public monuments from Augustus to Septimius Severus [111]

Emanuel Mayer

5 Pompey’s Theater and Tiberius’ Temple of Concord: a late Republican primer for an early imperial patron [135]

James E. Packer

6 Antonine Rome: security in the homeland [169]

Mary T. Boatwright

7 *Liberator urbis suae*: Constantine and the ghost of Maxentius [199]

Elizabeth Marlowe

8 The portraits of Roman emperors and their families: controversial positions and unsolved problems [221]

Klaus Fittschen

9 Crossing the *pomerium*: the armed ruler at Rome [247]

Michael Koortbojian

10 How the emperor Nero lost acceptance in Rome [275]

Egon Flaig

11 The imperial funerary pyre as a work of ephemeral architecture [289]

Eve D'Ambra

12 Roman imperial funerals *in effigie* [309]

Javier Arce

Bibliography [325]

Index [361]

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Illustrations

- 1.1 Plan of the Imperial Fora in Rome including the results of the recent excavations (after La Rocca 2001: p. 175) [page 15]
- 2.1 Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Ludwig I with artists*. Munich, Staatsgemäldesammlungen [46]
- 2.2 Rome, plan of Imperial Fora after *Enciclopedia di Arte Antica* VI 838 [50]
- 2.3 Forum of Augustus, southeast porticus. Reconstruction drawing (H. Bauer 1988). DAI Rome [51]
- 2.4 Forum of Augustus and Trajan, Model in Museo della Civiltà Romana. After H. Bauer in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (Ausstellung Berlin Gropiusbau 1988) 188 fig. 80 [51]
- 2.5 London, Royal Exchange. Engraving by W. Hollar 1644. After M. Girouard, *City and People* (London 1985). [52]
- 2.6 Western Campus Martius (F. Scagnetti 1979) [53]
- 2.7 Fresco from the so-called Villa of Julia Felix in Pompeii, presently in Museo Archeologico Nazionale Naples. Engraving of 1762. After *Le Pitture antiche di Ercolano e contorni III* (Naples 1762), pl. 41 ff [55]
- 2.8 Fresco from the so-called Villa of Julia Felix in Pompeii, presently in Museo Archeologico Nazionale Naples. Engraving of 1762. After *Le Pitture antiche di Ercolano e contorni III* (Naples 1762) pl. 41 ff [56]
- 2.9 Interior of the Pantheon after a cork model by C. May (1792/1811) in Pompeianum in Aschaffenburg. After W. Helmberger and V. Kockel, *Rom über die Alpen tragen. Fürsten sammeln antike Architektur. Die Aschaffener Korkmodelle* (Landshut 1993) 337 [58]
- 2.10 Reconstruction drawing of the Forum of Augustus, cross-section (L. Noguet 1868/69). After *Roma Antiqua. Forum, Colisée, Palatin* (Ausstellung Rom/Paris 1985/86) 137 [58]
- 2.11 Forum Pacis ("Forum of Vespasian") after A. Boethius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Penguin Books 1970) 220 fig. 92 [60]

- 2.12 Baths of Trajan and Colosseum. Model in Museo della Civiltà Romana. DAI Rome [61]
- 2.13 Imperial visit at the Baths of Diocletian, reconstruction by E. Paulin c. 1890, after H. d'Espouy, *Fragments d'architecture antique* (Paris 1908), pl. 95 [64]
- 2.14 Baths of Diocletian, reconstruction by E. Paulin (1885) after *Roma Antiqua*. "Envois" degli architetti francesi (1786–1901). Grandi Edifici Pubblici (Ausstellung Rom 1992) 35 [65]
- 2.15 Circus Maximus. Model in Museo della Civiltà Romana. DAI Rome [69]
- 2.16 Circus Maximus, sestertius, Mint of Rome AD 103–111 after J. P. C. Kent et al., *Die römische Münze* (Munich 1973) Taf. 68, 259 [69]
- 2.17 Model of the Colosseum after R. Luciani, *Il Colosseo* (Rome 1993) 53 [71]
- 2.18 Colosseum, cross-section of the cavea after *Anfiteatro Flavio* (Rome 1988) [71]
- 2.19 Colosseum with Meta Sudans, sestertius, Roman coin AD 80/81 after E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Rom* (Tübingen 1962) [72]
- 2.20 Stucco from one of the vaulted entrances to the Colosseum. Drawing by Giovanni Da Udine. Paris, Louvre 4341 after N. Dacos, *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation des Grottesques à la Renaissance* (London 1969) pl. 37, 65 [73]
- 2.21 Column of Trajan. Sestertius, Mint of Rome, c. AD 112 after *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1970), 531 [79]
- 2.22 Aureus, Mint of Rome, c. AD 202 after Kent, *Die römische Münze*, pl. 94, 390 [83]
- 3.1 Trapezophor from the Esquiline, Rome. By permission of DAI Rome [97]
- 3.2 Dedicatory inscription of the gate at the lower agora, Ephesus. Photograph by the author [100]
- 3.3 Dedicatory inscription of the gate at the lower agora, Ephesus. Photograph by the author [100]
- 3.4 Circular tomb, for a senator of consular rank. Antalya. Photograph by the author [106]
- 3.5 Circular tomb, for a senator of consular rank. Antalya. Photograph by the author [107]
- 3.6 Circular tomb, for a senator of consular rank. Antalya. Detail with *fascies* on either side of the tomb's entrance. Photograph by the author [108]

- 3.7 Tomb of the Plautii, near Tivoli. By permission of Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik am Archäologischen Institut der Universität zu Köln [108]
- 3.8 Funerary inscription, Tomb of the Plautii, near Tivoli. By permission of Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik am Archäologischen Institut der Universität zu Köln [109]
- 4.1 Caracalla, Berlin, by permission of DAI, Berlin MusNeg. 1586 a/b [113]
- 4.2 Augustus Prima Porta, by permission of AFVatikan Neg. X.14.20 [115]
- 4.3 Augustus *capite velato*, Samos, by permission of DAI Athens Neg. Samos 910 [116]
- 4.4 Augustus, Samos, by permission of DAI Athens Neg. 91.2173 [117]
- 4.5 Ara Pacis south frieze 1, by permission of Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell' Italia Antica 3246 [121]
- 4.6 Ara Pacis south frieze 2, by permission of Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell' Italia Antica 3247 [122]
- 4.7 Ara Vicomagistri (a–b), by permission of Museo Gregoriano Profano [124]
- 4.8 Compital altar, Vatican Photography by Fittschen-Badura [125]
- 4.9 Gemma Augustea, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna [126]
- 4.10 Arch of Septimius Severus, Ktesiphon, by permission of Fototeca Unione at the American Academy in Rome SW2 [127]
- 4.11 Arch of the Argentarii, by permission of DAI, Rome, Neg. Rom 40.333 [129]
- 4.12 Tetrapylon, Lepcis Magna, by permission of DAI, Rome, Neg. Rom 90.3452 [130]
- 5.1 The Temple of Juno Gabina, plan (after M. Almagro Gorbea from P. Coarelli, *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana* [Rome: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1987], p. 14, Fig. 3) [137]
- 5.2 Reconstruction of the Temple of Hercules Victor at Tibur (after Axel Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* [Pelican Books: Harmondsworth, 1978], p. 167, Fig. 157) [138]
- 5.3 Reconstruction of the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste (after Axel Boëthius, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* [Pelican Books: Harmondsworth, 1978], p. 168, Fig. 158)) [139]
- 5.4 The Temple of Hercules Musarum (l.) and the Porticus of Octavia (r.) in the model of ancient Rome in Rome's Museum of Roman Civilization (original photograph: G. Gorski) [140]

- 5.5 Sketch plan of the location of the Theater of Pompey in the Campus Martius (after K. Gleason, "The Garden Portico of Pompey the Great," *Expedition* 32.2 (1990): p. 5 fig. 3) [142]
- 5.6 View of the Theater of Marcellus seen across the Capitoline Hill with the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter (original photograph: G. Gorski) [143]
- 5.7 Theater of Marcellus, view of lower two floors of the travertine façade (original photograph: J. Packer) [144]
- 5.8 Theater of Marcellus, interior of the ambulatory (original photograph: J. Packer) [145]
- 5.9 The Amphitheater at Pompeii, interior (original photograph: J. Packer) [146]
- 5.10 The Augustan theater at Misenum, plan (M. De' Spagnolis, *Minturno* [Itri: Edizioni di Odisseo, 1981], p. 41, fig. D) [147]
- 5.11 Plan of the seats and area under the seats in the Theater at Pompeii (after A. Mau, *Pompeii. Its Life and Art* [New York, London: Macmillan, 1899], 209, fig. 93) [148]
- 5.12 The façade of the Tabularium on the Forum behind the temples of Vespasian (l.) and Concord (r.) (original photograph: G. Gorski) [149]
- 5.13 The Theater of Pompey restored, general view, looking southeast (original digital image: J. Burge, J. Packer, R. Beacham, University of London) [150]
- 5.14 The stage of the Theater of Pompey, tentative reconstruction with its plan from the Severan Forma Urbis (original digital image: J. Burge, J. Packer, R. Beacham, University of London) [150]
- 5.15 View of the back of the *scaenae frons*, restored (original digital image: J. Burge, J. Packer, R. Beacham, University of London) [151]
- 5.16 The garden behind the peristyle in the Theater of Pompey (G. Gatteschi, *Restavri della Roman imperiale* [Rome: Comitato di azione patriottica, 1924], p. 87) [152]
- 5.17 The plan of the Theater of Pompey from the Forma Urbis (G. Carettoni, et al., *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica* [Roma: Danesi, 1960] vol. 2, pl. 32) [153]
- 5.18 View of the peristyle and the "Curia," "Senate house," of Pompey from the model of ancient Rome in the Museum of Roman Civilization (original photograph: Gil Gorski) [154]
- 5.19 Small stuccoed cornice from the Theater of Pompey found in the excavations of 2003 (original photograph: J. Packer) [155]

- 5.20 Small, pavonazzetto pilaster base from the Theater of Pompey found in the excavations of 2003 (original photograph: J. Packer) [156]
- 5.21 Statues from the stage of the Theater of Pompey now in the courtyard of the Palazzo Borghese, Rome. From left to right: "Muse," "Thalia," and "Apollo" (original photographs: J. Packer) [157]
- 5.22 The "Hercules Righetti" in the Vatican Museums (original photograph: J. Packer) [158]
- 5.23 The seated muse from the peristyle behind the Theater of Pompey, now in the Museo Centrale di Montemartini (original photograph: J. Packer) [158]
- 5.24 The frieze fragment, perhaps from the peristyle behind the Theater of Pompey, now in the Museo Centrale di Montemartini (original photograph: J. Packer) [159]
- 5.25 Schematic plan of the peristyle gardens behind the *scaenae frons* in the Theater of Pompey (after P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains* 2nd revised ed. [Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969], p. 172, fig. 7) [160]
- 5.26 The model of Ancient Rome in the Museum of Roman Civilization: the Campus Martius with (below) the Odeum of Domitian, (center) the Theater of Pompey, (upper left) the Theater of Balbus, and (above, right) the Theater of Marcellus (original photograph: G. Gorski) [161]
- 5.27 View of the podium of the Temple of Concord (original digital image: G. Gorski, J. Packer) [162]
- 5.28 Reconstructed entablature of the Temple of Concord now in the Tabularium (original digital image: G. Gorski, J. Packer) [163]
- 5.29 Capital from the interior of the Temple of Concord (original photograph: J. Packer) [164]
- 5.30 Sestertius with the façade of the Temple of Concord (original photograph: G. Gorski) [165]
- 5.31 Reconstructed view of the Temple of Concord (original digital image: G. Gorski, J. Packer) [166]
- 6.1 The imperial city of Rome. Author, from M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton: PUP, 1987), pp. 2–3. By permission of Princeton University Press [170]
- 6.2 Hadrianeum, model now on display in the Piazza di Pietra, Rome. Photograph by the author [172]
- 6.3 (a) Provincial relief in Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 428497, by permission of the Ministero per

- I Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per I Beni Archeologici di Roma; (b) trophy relief now in Musei Capitolini, Pal. dei Conservatori, inv. 762, by permission of the Musei Capitolini [173]
- 6.4 “Adventus Augusti” relief now in Musei Capitolini, Pal. dei Conservatori, inv. 810. By permission of the Musei Capitolini [175]
- 6.5 Cast of relief of barbarian embassy to togate emperor (from Antonine Arch near the Hadrianeum), by permission of the Museo della Civiltà Romana [175]
- 6.6 Plan of Hadrianeum and adjacencies, from Claridge in Sapelli 1999: 118. Published by permission of Dr Amanda Claridge [176]
- 6.7 Sestertius with Temple of Faustina (AD 141–61). Photograph courtesy of the Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome [179]
- 6.8 Façade of the Temple of the deified Faustina and Antoninus Pius in the Roman Forum. Photograph by the author [179]
- 6.9 Sestertius of Antoninus Pius (158–59) showing Temple of the deified Augustus. *RIC* 3.149 no. 1004, Museo Nazionale Romano, Medagliere; by permission of Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica, Museo Nazionale Romano a Palazzo Altemps [180]
- 6.10 Reverse of medallion of Antoninus Pius depicting Horatius Cocles and the Pons Sublicius. Depiction from Galliazzo 1994: 25 [182]
- 6.11 *Deditio* relief (also called Conquest relief). Now in Musei Capitolini, Pal. dei Conservatori, inv. 809. Published by permission of the Musei Capitolini [184]
- 6.12 *Liberalitas* relief, now on Arch of Constantine. Photo: Alinari, 2541 [184]
- 6.13 Plan of area around Piazza Montecitorio. From La Rocca 1984: 102, fig. 11 (drawn by L. Messa), by permission of L’Erma di Bretschneider [188]
- 6.14 Sestertius of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus showing the Column of Antoninus Pius (*RIC* 3.315 no. 1269). Inst Neg. 6184A; by permission of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Römische Abteilung [190]
- 6.15 Relief of the Apotheosis of Faustina and Pius, from the southern face of the pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius. DAI 38.1463; by permission of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Römische Abteilung [191]

- 6.16 Reconstruction of the eastern face of the pedestal of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, based on antiquarian sketches and comparanda. From Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 66 fig. 8, by permission of *Boreas: Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie* [194]
- 6.17 Plan of area around the Column of Marcus Aurelius, noting the location of the dwelling of Adrastus, from CAR II.G. Published by permission of Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica, Museo Nazionale Romano a Palazzo Altemps [195]
- 6.18 Scenes 96 (7–14)–97 (1–4) from the frieze of the Column of Marcus Aurelius: military and civilian casualties. Published by permission of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Römische Abteilung [196]
- 7.1 Basilica Nova. Photograph by author [209]
- 7.2 Basilica Nova, plan, after A. Minoprio, 1925: *Papers of the British School of Rome* [210]
- 7.3 Temple of Romulus. Photograph by author [212]
- 8.1 Colossal portrait of Aelius Verus, Holkham Hall. By permission of Forschungsarchiv für römische Plastik, Köln, Neg. no. 1327/9 [227]
- 8.2 Portrait of Lucius Verus, Rome, Museo Capitolino. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura [227]
- 8.3 Portrait of a man, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura [227]
- 8.4 Portrait of a man, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura [227]
- 8.5 Portrait of Antinous (version B), Naples, Museo Nazionale. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura [242]
- 8.6 Portrait of a young man, Olympia, Museum. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura [242]
- 8.7 Portrait of Polydeukion, Athens, National Museum. DAI Athens, Neg. no. 72/423 [242]
- 8.8 Portrait of Antinous (version B), Naples, Museo Nazionale. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura [243]
- 8.9 Portrait of a young man, Olympia, Museum. Photo by G. Fittschen-Badura [243]
- 8.10 Portrait of Polydeukion, Athens, National Museum. DAI Athens, Neg. no. 72/426 [243]
- 9.1 Cuirassed statue of Julius Caesar. Rome, Palazzo Senatorio. Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Köln, photo B. Malter Mal no. 1760–02 [251]

- 9.2 *Nuncupatio* relief. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Neg. N. FAK 2308/6 [252]
- 9.3 Cuirassed statue from Frascati. Munich, Glyptothek [253]
- 9.4 Representation of the *toga picta*. Denarius, Spanish mint, c. 18 BC. The American Numismatic Society photo no. 1947.2.409 [255]
- 9.5 Statue of a Roman “General” from Tivoli. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. DAI – Rome neg. no. 32.412 [256]
- 9.6 Statue of a Roman “General” from Foruli. Chieti, Museum. DAI – Rome neg. no. 67.841 [257]
- 9.7 Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. Rome, Musei Vaticani. DAI – Rome neg. no. 91.72 [261]
- 9.8 Portrait of Augustus. Lucus Feroniae, Antiquarium. DAI – Rome neg. no. 62.574 [263]
- 9.9 Parthian Arch of Augustus. Denarius, Spanish mint (Colonia Patricia?), c. 18–17 BC [270]
- 11.1 Drawings of two pyres from Antonine coins (after Arce 1988, 145, fig. 55). Drawing © Franc Palaia 2009 [292]
- 11.2 Reverse of a silver denarius of Divus Antoninus, AD 161 (courtesy of the Frances Lehmann Loeb Center, Vassar College, CC 59.2.0541) [292]
- 11.3 Four Antonine coins (after Arce 1988: 144, fig. 52) [293]
- 11.4 Reverse of a sestertius of Divus Septimius Severus, AD 211 (after Mattingly, CREBM V, 428, n. 50) [294]
- 11.5 Obverse and reverse of a denarius of the younger Faustina (after Mattingly) CREBM IV, 487, n. 699) [295]
- 11.6 Sestertius of Diva Julia Maesa, c. AD 225 (Numismatica Ars Classica auction 25, 25 June 2003, lot 531) [295]
- 11.7 Reverse of a sestertius of Divus Marcus Aurelius, AD 180 (after Mattingly, CREBM IV, 764, n. 400) [296]
- 11.8 Reverse of a *Consecratio* coin, second century AD (after Arce 1988, 144, fig. 51) [296]
- 11.9 *Decursio* relief on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius, c. AD 161 (photo by Franc Palaia) [302]
- 11.10 Location of Antonine consecration altars in Rome (after La Rocca 1984, fig. 11) [306]
- 11.11 Reconstruction of the consecration altar of the Palazzo del Parlamento, Rome (after Kampmann 1985, fig. 14). Drawing © Franc Palaia 2009 [306]

Maps

- 2.1 Imperial Rome: porticoes and sanctuaries [*page* 49]
- 2.2 Rome, imperial baths [62]
- 2.3 Imperial Rome: buildings for games and theatrical performances [67]
- 2.4 Buildings for the people in relation to buildings of imperial self-presentation [76]

Preface and acknowledgments

This volume brings together a set of essays on the relationship between the Roman emperor and the city of Rome – or, better, between the Roman imperial monarchy, as a particular configuration of power, and the nexus of actors, practices, images, and spaces that we call, for the sake of convenience, “Rome.” Written by a group of scholars representing several different scholarly traditions, these essays address a number of individual emperors and particular monuments – the traditional focus of most research on imperial Rome – but also seek to illuminate some of the underlying, structural conditions that made imperial Rome such a dynamic locus for the experience of public space, imperial representation, and monarchic ritual. With the exception of the first chapter, by Paul Zanker, all the contributions are original, specifically commissioned for this volume.

A three-day conference held at Yale University in September, 2005 provided the contributors to the volume with an opportunity to present preliminary versions of their essays and to discuss them with one another. This lively and memorable gathering would not have been possible without the generous financial assistance of Yale College, the Yale University Art Museum, and the departments of History, History of Art, and, in particular, Classics. We would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the continued support we have received – even after moving from Yale to different institutions – from two chairpersons of the Classics department at Yale, John F. Matthews and Christina Kraus. In preparing this volume for publication in the series *Yale Classical Studies*, we have also benefited from the good counsel, hard work, and patience of the editorial team at Cambridge University Press, especially Michael Sharp, Elizabeth Hanlon, Nigel Hope, and Christina Sarigiannidou. Thanks are also due, finally, to Adam Stead, PhD candidate in Art History at the University of Toronto, for translating the papers by Paul Zanker and Klaus Fittschen from German into English.

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This is a golden age for scholarship on the city of Rome. Four developments have converged to produce this watershed moment. First, an intensive program of excavation and restoration in Rome has uncovered new structures and cast new light on old ones, especially in the monumental city center. Undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s as part of the elaborate preparations for the *Giubileo* celebration of 2000, this archaeological program, on a scale unseen since the days of Mussolini, has added significantly to our understanding of the ancient city.¹ Second, the sixth and final volume of the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (*LTUR*) was published in 2000.² The completion of this major reference work, written by an international team of experts and equipped with thorough bibliographies and illustrations, marks a milestone in the scholarship on ancient Rome. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the *Lexicon* has already established itself as the indispensable tool for research on the topography and urban fabric of the city.³ Third, the dawn of the twenty-first century has witnessed the rapid proliferation of digital technologies for the study of Rome, especially in the three-dimensional reconstruction of buildings and cityscapes. These digital reconstructions not only illuminate the principles of Roman architecture and engineering, but also facilitate the imaginative leaps necessary for an appreciation, however imperfect, of the visual impact of Rome's urban landscape – a vital step in understanding the lived experience of the city.⁴ And fourth, the monumental topography and urban history of Rome have now

¹ Excavations and *Giubileo* celebration: Baiani and Ghilardi 2000; Filippi 2001. Archaeology in Rome under Mussolini: Packer 1989.

² *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 6 vols. (with supplements), ed. E. M. Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1993–2000).

³ Important reviews of *LTUR*: W. V. Harris in *JRA* 8 (1995), 365–75, *JRA* 10 (1997), 383–88, *JRA* 14 (2001), 539–46, *JRA* 16 (2003), 540–44; A. Wallace-Hadrill in the *Times Literary Supplement*, May 14, 2001, 3–4. Though *LTUR* has superseded earlier topographical dictionaries, such as Platner and Ashby 1929 and L. Richardson 1992, it is still worth consulting these other works for alternative approaches and interpretations. Archaeological guides to the city also remain useful; see esp. Claridge 1998 and Coarelli 2008. For an overview of building activity in imperial Rome, see also Gros and Torelli 1988: 167–236.

⁴ Haselberger and Humphrey 2006 is a good introduction to the rise, scholarly potential, and limitations of digital technologies.

been fully incorporated into “mainstream” histories of ancient Rome. No longer a subject for specialists only, the city of Rome has become one of the primary lenses through which scholars examine Rome’s political, social, and economic history.⁵

One area of Rome’s urban history that has received ample attention in recent years is the monumental topography of the city under individual emperors. Much of this scholarship has been devoted to the Augustan period. In addition to many studies of specific monuments and particular areas of the city, scholars working in a range of disciplines have produced a number of innovative works on various aspects of Augustan Rome, including a study of the city’s “urban image” (Favro 1996); a large-scale, period-specific map with accompanying topographical dictionary (Haselberger 2002); a wide-ranging exploration of the city’s neighborhoods (Lott 2004); and a comprehensive reevaluation of the city’s macroscopic spatial development (Haselberger 2007).⁶ The monuments and public space of Rome after Augustus have not been investigated with anything like this degree of comprehensiveness, but several reigns and dynasties have been the subjects of extensive monographs, and more works along these lines are forthcoming.⁷

This volume builds on this recent work on the city of Rome during the imperial period. Despite the intensive scholarship of the last couple of decades, much of it very good, there is still work to be done. A first

⁵ We give just two examples. Recent debates about the democratic element in Republican politics have drawn heavily on the symbolic topography of the Forum and the relationship between public space and political participation in Rome; emblematic of the city’s prominence in contemporary approaches to Republican Rome is the fact that the most recent handbook on the Roman Republic (Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx 2006) includes not one but two chapters on the city of Rome (by M. Torelli and J. R. Patterson). And for the imperial period there are Purcell’s incisive chapters on Rome, its inhabitants, and its monuments in the second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Purcell 1996 and 2000; cf. Purcell 1994 on the late Republic), unparalleled in the first edition of the *CAH*, published in the 1930s.

⁶ Recent studies of individual monuments and areas of Augustan Rome include Ganzert 1996 (Temple of Mars Ultor); Ungaro 1997 (Forum Augustum); Spannagel 1999 (Forum Augustum); Rehak 2006 (northern Campus Martius); cf. Kuttner 1995, postulating a lost Augustan monument represented on the Boscoreale cups, and Severy-Hoven 2007, a collection of essays on various aspects of the Augustan period, with some attention to the city of Rome. Note also, among earlier works, Hofter 1988; Zanker 1988; Fraschetti 1990; Galinsky 1996: 141–224. Patterson 1992 is a useful survey of the archaeology of the city in the transition from republic to monarchy.

⁷ E.g., Boatwright 1987 (Hadrian); Darwall-Smith 1996 (the Flavians); Holloway 2004 (Constantine); Lusnia forthcoming (Septimius Severus). For late antiquity in general, see also Bauer 1996; Ensoli and La Rocca 2000; Mayer 2002. In addition to these studies by reign and by period, recent years have seen several high-quality general studies of the imperial city, e.g. Kolb 1995; Lo Cascio 2000; Giardina 2000; Coulston and Dodge 2000; Edwards and Woolf 2003. See also the excellent *L’Urbs* volume of 1987, and the special volume of *Pallas* 55 (2001), devoted to the imperial city.

step is to expand the parameters of the investigation, and in particular to direct more attention to the study of imperial Rome after Augustus. The Augustan period was, of course, a pivotal moment in the long-term evolution of the city, especially in topographical and administrative terms, and several of the essays in this volume touch on Augustan Rome in one way or another (Zanker, Eck, Mayer, Packer, Koortbojian). But the topography of the Augustan city is now very well understood, and it is time to examine later periods in greater depth. To that end, this volume includes two studies of post-Augustan monuments and public space, one examining the difficult and relatively neglected subject of Antonine Rome (Boatwright), and one reassessing the relationship between the major monuments of Maxentius and Constantine (Marlowe).

Another way forward is to widen the focus from analysis of the city by imperial reign (or dynasty) to a broader exploration of the city as one facet of a larger monarchical system – to investigate the city of Rome, in other words, not under this or that emperor, but under the impact of monarchy in general, and as one of the structures that shaped the monarchy itself. Because analysis at this level must begin not with facts but with questions, the scholarly tools that have put the study of ancient Rome on a new footing in recent years, as useful and necessary as they are, do not offer much help. It is not always clear, in other words, what tools such as topographical dictionaries are for, and how, precisely, they advance our understanding of the experiential dimensions of the city or its historical evolution. Indeed, topographical dictionaries and digital reconstructions implicitly encourage what Moses Finley famously castigated as the “tell-all-you-know” approach, the collection of data for its own sake, not subordinated to any larger questions or problems. But in our view it is only through a problem-oriented approach, and only by beginning not with the discrete bits of data that happen to have survived, but with questions informed by a range of scholarly disciplines, that we can understand the complex and dynamic relationship between the Roman emperor and his capital city. This volume is intended as a step in that direction.

“The emperor and Rome” is a very big subject that could be approached from many angles, and this volume makes no claims to comprehensiveness. The essays that follow address three main topics: (i) the impact of imperial building programs on the configuration of space within the city and on the evolution of Rome’s urban image (“Space”); (ii) the various ways in which the figure of the emperor himself was represented, both visually and symbolically, in the city’s urban fabric (“Representation”); and (iii) the performance of rituals and ceremonies that expressed key imperial

ideals and values and enabled communications between the emperor and important collectivities in the city (“Ritual”). Because most of the essays in this volume do not fit neatly into just one of these three thematic categories, we have not attempted to arrange them under these rubrics. In order to set these essays in context, however, and to elucidate the central questions and problems around which the volume as a whole is organized, we would like to discuss briefly the historical and sociopolitical contexts in which the interrelated developments in public space, imperial representation, and monarchic ritual took place, and then to consider each of these three main topics in turn.

I. Emperor, mass, and élite in imperial Rome

The transition from republic to monarchy at Rome may be seen as a rationalization of the state’s political and administrative apparatus. During the Republic, the coexistence of multiple, discrete points of formal and informal decision-making authority within the state produced the sort of mixed constitution so beloved by classical political theorists (cf. Polyb. 6.11–18; Cic. *Rep.* 1.69–71), but came at the cost of administrative inefficiency and an institutional framework unsuited to long-term planning. Augustus and his successors, by contrast, exercised a *de facto* monopoly on ultimate decision-making authority – whatever the emperor said or did *was* the law, as the jurists put it (Gai. *Inst.* 1.2.5; Ulp. *Dig.* 1.4.1 *pr.*) – and controlled the resources necessary for the systematic implementation of plans and policies. This transition had an immediate effect on state and society throughout the empire.⁸ Nowhere were the effects of this transition more pronounced than in the city of Rome.

This volume explores several distinctive aspects of the urban fabric and symbolic world of Rome under the impact of monarchy. But the transformation of the city went beyond the changes in space, representation, and ritual addressed in the essays that follow. Particularly important was the nexus between administrative and military developments in the city. Urban administration was thoroughly revamped by Rome’s first emperors.⁹

⁸ Major changes included a halt to large-scale imperial expansion, an overhaul in the system of provincial administration and in methods for the extraction of material resources, and the rapid proliferation of the emperor’s image, often in the context of the imperial cult. On the immediate impact of monarchy throughout the empire, see (e.g.) Millar [1984] 2002: 292–313; Woolf 1995, 2005.

⁹ For overviews of urban administration in imperial Rome, all with references to more specialized studies, see Robinson 1992; Kolb 1995: 508–67; Daguet-Gagey 2000.

Changes to the city's administration and infrastructure under Augustus alone included the creation of a paramilitary police force under the command of a senatorial prefect; a professional firefighting service under the command of an equestrian prefect; a new administrative division of the city into fourteen regions (further subdivided into *vici*, "neighborhoods," which numbered 265 by the mid first century AD: Plin. *NH* 3.66); and new administrative departments headed by senatorial officials to oversee public buildings (*opera publica*), the grain supply, and the water supply (which was enhanced by the addition of three new aqueducts). This sea-change in the extent of Rome's basic services not only altered how the city functioned on a day-to-day basis, but also provided increased security for its inhabitants. Equally striking was the emergence of a highly visible military presence in the city. By the mid first century AD, some 7,500 soldiers were permanently stationed in Rome. The 1,500 soldiers attached to the urban prefect and the 6,000 soldiers comprising the praetorian guard (another Augustan innovation) resided right on the edge of the city's built-up area, on the Viminal Hill, in the massive barracks built during the reign of Tiberius.¹⁰ This dramatic and permanent insertion of military force into the city's urban texture was perhaps the most palpable difference in the lived experience of Rome between republic and monarchy (cf. Coulston 2000).

The overhaul of Rome's administration by Augustus and his successors and the new presence of military force in the city were closely related developments. In particular, this military force augmented the state's executive capacity in the city by providing its officials with an unprecedented degree of manpower (cf. Purcell 2000: 793). Without this manpower, which was unavailable to Republican magistrates, and without the rationalization that arose from the emperor's monopoly on ultimate decision-making authority, such systematic improvements to urban administration would have been nearly impossible.

In addition to driving these administrative and military developments, the concentration of executive and military power in the hands of a monarchic regime also restructured social relationships and their symbolic forms in the city of Rome. For nearly five centuries after the founding of the Republic, mass and elite in the city had engaged in the development of an elaborate institutional structure for distributing political power through the creation of various mechanisms for reaching and implementing

¹⁰ The praetorian guard originally numbered nine cohorts (Tac. *Ann.* 4.5), but was increased to twelve at some point before the death of Claudius (AE 1978, 226). There is no direct evidence for the size of the praetorian cohorts in the early imperial period, but it is likely that these cohorts, like those in the legions, were 480 men strong.

official decisions.¹¹ From this institutional structure arose a particular set of symbolic forms – from the mundane rhythms of the daily *salutatio* to the stunning magnificence of aristocratic funeral processions and triumphal celebrations – that both expressed and structured the balance of power between mass and élite.¹² The advent of monarchy, which brought to Rome a radically new way of making and implementing official decisions, upset this traditional balance of power, an upheaval that in turn demanded a new set of symbolic forms to express and indeed reinforce the new social and political reality.¹³ Of these new forms, the most important were those that articulated the relationship between the emperor, the *plebs urbana*, and the senatorial order.

The relationship between emperor and urban plebs was ideologically charged because it symbolized the relationship between the state and its citizen body. At the heart of this key relationship was the regular expenditure of resources in the city of Rome by which the emperor singled out the urban plebs for public benefaction.¹⁴ Routine modes of imperial benefaction included cash distributions (*congiaria*), grain distributions (*frumentationes*), public building programs, and public entertainment.¹⁵ Though these forms of imperial largesse are well known and much discussed, there is little consensus on the crucial question of why emperors expended such resources in this way. Yavetz argues that Augustus and his successors, in an effort to detach the masses from their dependence on aristocratic patrons, showered benefits on them in return for their political support.¹⁶ For Veyne, the emperors' largesse was not motivated by such narrow political

¹¹ The essays by M. Jehne, J. North, and A. Yakobson in Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx 2006 provide critical assessments of the recent debates on the nature of Republican politics.

¹² For recent discussions of the symbolic dimensions of Republican political culture, see Flaig 2003a; Flower 2005; Sumi 2005; Höllkeskamp 2005.

¹³ It should be noted that the various symbolic expressions of the new social and political reality, especially those drawing on Republican traditions, were often deceptive, designed to mask the dominance of the emperor. It is also worth noting in this context that the charismatic authority of Roman emperors, sometimes exaggerated by modern scholars (Lendon 2006), depended to a great extent on their capacity to get things done.

¹⁴ The urban plebs must not be confused with the entire urban population of Rome, which included slaves and non-citizens, nor with the *populus Romanus* as a whole, even though it was often associated with the Roman citizen body for rhetorical purposes. The urban plebs was a particular and privileged collectivity that should be distinguished from these larger groups; see briefly Purcell 1994: 644–46.

¹⁵ The best overview is still Kloft 1970.

¹⁶ Yavetz 1969a (on the late Republican, Augustan, and Julio-Claudian periods), esp. 132 for the political calculus; cf. Yavetz 1987 for extension of this analysis into the period 69–117, with greater sensitivity to different social and economic groupings within the *plebs urbana* (esp. 165–74).

calculation, nor was the return of popular support for imperial benefaction so direct – or so rational. Instead, these routine forms of benefaction were intended to be concrete examples of the monarch's personal generosity, displayed on the grand stage of the imperial capital, valuable to the emperor as ostentation for its own sake, but also serving to induce in the urban plebs a particular “*modalité d'obéissance*” to the imperial regime, driven by their being honored through these benefactions as a privileged collectivity within the empire.¹⁷ Seeking to place the idealized relationship between emperor and urban plebs in a wider context, Griffin (1991) suggests that it was meant to serve as a model for social relations in the empire as a whole, especially for upper-class provincial visitors to Rome who would witness the advantages of civic benefaction and the public display of social hierarchy as instruments of social control. More recently, Rowe has analyzed the role of the urban plebs itself in maintaining this relationship, emphasizing the honors it bestowed upon the imperial family and the attendant emergence within this subset of the urban population of a well-defined corporate identity, which helped to offset the loss of electoral power in the early imperial period (Rowe 2002: ch. 3).

Several of the essays in this volume build on these ideas and provide new ways of understanding the relationship between the emperor and the urban plebs. In analyzing imperial public building and the provision of public entertainment in Rome, Zanker emphasizes the critical importance of Greek culture to Roman imperial benefaction. Emperors not only provided the urban plebs with suitable venues for their leisure and entertainment, but also undertook a form of “cultural patronage,” according to Zanker, in which the ideals of Greek *paideia* were transmitted to the masses through art and architecture.¹⁸ Only in this way could the urban plebs fully experience “togetherness” and “the happiness of the times” (*laetitia temporum*), both of which depended on the emperor's *liberalitas*, and only in this way could they become, through their participation in Greek culture, full-fledged citizens. In return, the plebs offered a whole range of honors to the emperor, which allowed the emperor to represent himself as a civilian magistrate rather than a military autocrat. This exchange of cultural patronage for civic honors in the city of Rome is a good example of how the city and its inhabitants could partly shape the monarchy itself, in this case by encouraging a particular monarchic style in which emperors expended more resources on the

¹⁷ Veyne 1976: ch. 4, esp. 621–47 (benefactions), 675–80 (ostentation), 689–90 (special relationship between emperor and urban plebs), 709–10 (the plebs' “modality of obedience”); for criticism of Yavetz (1969a), 775, n. 386.

¹⁸ For a Republican precedent, see Kuttner 1999 on Pompey's theater and portico complex.

edification of their most privileged subjects than on their own private residence – a major contrast with resource allocation in other premodern imperial capitals, where the palace normally predominated over everything else.

Flaig, like Yavetz, concentrates on the political implications of the relationship between emperor and urban plebs, but approaches this relationship, like Veyne, through analysis of the symbolic communications between these two actors. Taking the fall of Nero as a case study, Flaig applies his model of the principate as an “acceptance system,” developed in his groundbreaking study of usurpation in the Roman empire (1992), to show how an imperial regime could collapse if the urban plebs withdrew its support. Because the urban plebs was one of the “relevant political sectors” in the Roman empire (along with the senate and legionary armies), capable of collective action and therefore capable of demonstrating public acceptance of a given emperor – the key to the stability of any one emperor’s reign, according to Flaig – it was vital for the imperial regime to honor the plebs in specific ways in order to secure that public acceptance. Nero’s disastrous failure to play by the rules of this symbolic dialogue forms the principal subject of Flaig’s study, and offers a useful model for understanding the basis of the emperor’s political authority in the city of Rome.

In a wide-ranging essay on imperial honorific in Rome and in the provinces, Mayer begins with the observation that most “imperial” monuments were in fact dedicated by other groups to (and not by) the emperor, and then examines the ways in which social status shaped this public discourse in praise of the emperor. Ranging from the Augustan through the early Severan periods, Mayer underlines the long-term stability of what he calls a “class-bound *decorum*” in public praise, visual and spoken, for the emperor. Analyses of the compital altars in Augustan Rome and the Arch of the Argentarii dedicated to Septimius Severus usefully move beyond generalities in distinguishing “popular” from senatorial modes of imperial honorific, and open up new avenues for investigating the structural factors that determined how, precisely, the urban plebs honored the emperor.

The relationship between the emperor and the urban plebs largely supplanted the relationship between senate and plebs as the main framework at Rome for symbolic interaction between mass and élite in the public sphere. The senate did not, of course, disappear with the fall of the Republic, and indeed played a critical role – in institutional, administrative, social, and ideological terms – in the maintenance of the monarchic regime at

Rome.¹⁹ But the senate did have to reinvent itself, in the wake of Rome's political transformation, and forging its own symbolic relationship with the emperor, especially in the city of Rome, was of paramount importance for the successful reshaping of its corporate public image and, ultimately, for preserving the social and political status of its individual members. Several aspects of this complex process are addressed in this volume.

Mayer's essay, for example, is concerned primarily with identifying senatorial modes of honoring the emperor and with exploring the motivations that underpinned this type of "public praise." He suggests that senatorial monuments for the emperor in the city of Rome tended either to highlight the social proximity of the emperor to the senatorial aristocracy, as on the Ara Pacis, or to subordinate the emperor's individual exploits to the achievements of the Roman state as a whole, as on the Arch of Septimius Severus; in both cases the contrast with "popular" monuments, which stress the individual, paradigmatic, and quasi-divine role of the emperor himself, is striking. Mayer also adduces textual evidence, especially Pliny's *Panegyricus*, to illustrate the distinctively senatorial concern to demonstrate "insider knowledge" about how to praise the emperor appropriately. This badge of insider status so proudly displayed by Pliny and other senators, such as Arrian, shows that they could employ the power of the monarchy in their own interests, and casts doubt on the notion that either panegyric or "imperial" monuments in the city of Rome should be seen as vehicles of imperial "propaganda."²⁰

The senate was also an active agent in shaping the monumental landscape of the imperial city. In her study of Antonine Rome, Boatwright notes the senate's dedication of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius and also draws attention to the senate's "remarkable involvement" in the construction of the Temple of the Deified Faustina, observing that the Italic style of the monument differs from the Greek form of the Hadrianeum, and contrasting the senate's maintenance of Faustina's cult with Antoninus Pius' active patronization of the cult of Hadrian. These monuments are reminders that architectural form and cult practice in Rome were not determined by the imperial regime alone. Antonine Rome, as Boatwright puts it, was partly a "senatorial product," a label that rings true for other periods as well. Indeed, not even political decentralization in the later empire and the advent of a

¹⁹ For the senate under Augustus, see Brunt 1984; Eck 2003: 41–76, esp. 67 ff.; cf. Rowe 2002: ch. 2 on the senate under Tiberius. On the imperial senate, Millar 1977: 290–355; Talbert 1984; Flaig 1992: 94–131; Ando 2000: 152–68; Veyne 2002a: 54–57.

²⁰ On the meaning and use of the term "propaganda," see below, pp. 33–37.

Christian emperor could extinguish the senate's influence in the city. As Marlowe shows in her study of Constantinian Rome, the senate remained a crucial participant in the direction of urban affairs in the early fourth century. Whereas traditional accounts claim that Constantine concentrated his resources on Christian buildings on the outskirts of the city, intentionally snubbing the traditional, pagan city center, Marlowe argues that Constantine's clever appropriation of many of Maxentius' building projects in the city center, including the Quirinal bath complex, the Temple of Romulus, and, above all, Maxentius' Basilica, was designed to demonstrate Constantine's commitment to traditional civic benefaction in the heart of Rome. She also notes that Constantine did not punish Maxentius' supporters, and even sought to place members of the senate's most established families in key administrative posts, including the urban prefecture. These monumental, architectural, and administrative policies should be seen as a reflection of power relations in early fourth-century Rome, and indicate that the senate could still be a crucial collectivity in the Roman imperial state.

But we should not exaggerate the influence of the imperial senate in the public sphere at Rome. The advent of monarchy, after all, did curtail most forms of senatorial self-representation in the city. How senators reacted to these changed circumstances, and what new strategies they developed for public self-representation, have been examined in a series of influential articles by Werner Eck.²¹ In this volume he expands on these earlier studies with a chapter on senatorial uses of public and domestic space. As a result of the emperor's near monopoly of public space in the city of Rome, senators who wished to engage in public building of their own were forced to redirect their projects to municipal centers in Italy and the provinces, where there was little or no competition with the emperor. Within the city of Rome itself, a small number of senators could employ public spaces for self-representation, but this depended on the favor of the emperor. Most chose to concentrate their resources on their grand *domus*—urban “*palazzi*,” as Eck calls them—and on novel forms of domestic display, such as inscribed *trapezophora*, marble bases with small-scale equestrian statues tailored to the dimensions of the atrium or peristyle. This senatorial concentration of resources on domestic space transformed Rome's residential topography. At the center was the imperial palace, dominating the Palatine Hill—long the aristocratic residential quarter *par excellence*—and fanning out from this nucleus along the hills to the northeast, east, and southeast were

²¹ Eck 1984a, 1992, 1996 (updated Italian translation of several articles), 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2001a, 2005.

the hundreds and hundreds of senatorial *domus* that served as the new monuments to aristocratic self-representation.²² In this way the configuration of elite domestic space in the city of Rome, with the emperor at the center and the senators arranged in a pattern of ever-widening concentric circles around their monarch, neatly expressed the distribution of political power in imperial Rome.

The continuities between Republic and Empire in the city of Rome, especially in the daily lives of most of its inhabitants, were significant and should not be overlooked. But the advent of monarchy did bring about a new balance of political power in Rome, the Republican duo of urban plebs and senate replaced by a triad that now included the emperor. In this new distribution of power, the overwhelming advantage lay with the imperial regime, which controlled unparalleled military and material resources and exercised a *de facto* monopoly on ultimate decision-making authority within the state. Preserving the semblance of an equilibrium between emperor, mass, and elite required the sorts of symbolic forms discussed above. The engine of change in the imperial city, however, was the power of the emperor, to which both aristocrats and masses had to accommodate themselves. This is the underlying sociopolitical context in which the developments in space, representation, and ritual considered in this volume should be seen.

II. Space

Among the many turns the study of cultures has taken during the twentieth century, the “spatial turn” is without doubt one of the most important and, for archaeology, one of the most consequential.²³ The spatial turn emerged as a means of overcoming a “despatializing historicism” (Soja 1989: 4) and its paradigms of development, evolution, and progress – now considered unsatisfactory, naïve, and obsolete as “principles of intelligibility” (Augé 1995: 24) – as well as problematic territorial models of a colonialist, imperialist, geopolitical, or ethnic nature. The oft-described contemporary experience of simultaneity, networks, and the compression and shrinking of space also plays a role, as does an increasing awareness of the concrete spatial configurations which enable, support, and condition historical

²² Cf. Noreña 2006 for an attempt to map the residential topography of Augustan Rome.

²³ For concise overviews (all with ample references), see Bachmann-Medick 2006: 284–328; Soja 1989; Dünne and Günzel 2006; Assmann 2008: 153–82. For an anthropological perspective, see Rapoport 2002. Hubbard 2006 offers an excellent survey of attempts to theorize urban space from a cultural-sociological perspective.

processes, power relations, and indeed all forms of social life (Foucault 2000: 349–64; Soja 1989). This new interest in space also includes the “perception” of space (e.g., the “psychic topography”²⁴ of city dwellers) as well as the “symbolic layer of the representation of space” (Bachmann-Medick 2006: 292). There is no lack of utilizable spatial concepts for the historical study of cultures. Foucault, for instance, described space not as a homogeneous continuum but rather as multiply broken and “stepped”; according to him, societies can best be classified by the “other spaces” (heterotopias) they engender, spaces of an inverse quality and organization which are often linked up with ruptures and breakages in the structure of time.²⁵ With his concepts of the “representation of space” and “representational space,” as well as “absolute space” and “abstract space,” Lefebvre 1991 described urban space in dialectical terms from a Marxist perspective as the proper dimension of alienation in capitalist societies; for him, Rome marks the transition “from a feeling of space” to “a systematic allocation of codes and specific functions of public and private areas.”²⁶ Sennett 1990 and (in particular) 1994 has sketched the connection between individual bodily experience and the experience of urban spaces in an historical perspective (including ancient Athens and Rome) and in doing so has provided what one may call the urban “negative” to the examination of shifting subjectivities offered in Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*. Michel de Certeau has provided us with dense experiential accounts of urban space and spatial practices (de Certeau 1984; de Certeau, Giard and Mayol 1998). Soja 1989, finally, has made a sophisticated and far-reaching attempt to establish a “socio-spatial dialectic” and “interpretive geography, one which recognizes spatiality as . . . a social product (or outcome) and a shaping force (or medium) in social life” (Soja 1989: 7). From a postcolonial perspective, the meaning of space as a means of “stabilization” of identities – or, alternatively, of destabilization, negation, and denial – is also a topic of discussion.

Classical archaeology has, overall, remained relatively insulated against the challenges posed by these and many other qualitative studies. This has a lot to do with the scarcity of our evidence, which does not necessarily encourage such endeavors, but also with the discipline’s undeniable tendency toward self-sufficiency and self-referentiality, its hesitance to define new domains, as well as its distrust of grand narratives – and, in North

²⁴ Lock and Farquhar 2007: 244. Of interest in this context is also the work that has been done on “virtual spaces” in the middle ages; see the contributions in Vavra 2005.

²⁵ Foucault 1998; Foucault 2005: 37–52 (original 1966 radio lecture on heterotopias); Bachmann-Medick 2006: 287.

²⁶ T. Conley, “Henri Lefebvre,” in Kritzman 2006: 576. See also Jameson 1991: 364–76.

America, with its at times more quantitative and “anthropological” orientation. But while much remains to be done, it is also true that many classical scholars “turned” to space long ago, availing themselves especially in the study of ancient urbanism and in field archaeology of increasingly theoretical approaches, and, in part, also successfully modifying these.²⁷ And if textbooks on classical archaeology can serve as an indicator, then the “postcolonial” remapping of center and periphery itself is just now reaching the archaeological mainstream (Alcock and Osborne 2007).

The category of space – including its multifaceted demarcations – is also of central importance for the description of the relationship between the Roman emperor and various “political constituencies.” First, there is the separation of inner-city and “outer-city” space through walls and the *pomerium* (Gros 2007). This separation was of great importance for the entire dynamic of patronage discussed in this volume, as well as for the forms of representation both by the diverse social constituencies and by the emperor himself (Eck, Koortbojian): only in Rome did the emperor act as patron, where his subjects came to enjoy his various architectural foundations, while outside the capital he was responsible above all – though not exclusively – for basic infrastructure and its renovation and maintenance, as well as relief after natural disasters (Zanker, this volume; Horster 1997); conversely, among the senatorial class the possibilities for self-representation in Rome were severely limited – that is to say, restricted to certain private or semi-private spaces. As Eck demonstrates, the situation was entirely different outside of the capital city. There, the local élites could assume the role in the social mechanics of the municipalities that the emperor took on in Rome.

But the urban space of Rome itself was no spatial continuum, and the buildings that had been erected by and for the emperors since Caesar and Augustus were in this regard very fundamentally responsible. Even though, in the Roman imperial period, the “art of the government of men” was not conceptually and discursively linked to a systematic re-modeling of urban space in a manner comparable to that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Foucault 2000: 350; also Nora 2006: ix), the advent of monarchy was *de facto* the most incisive event in the history of Rome’s urban

²⁷ For example, Alcock 1993; Laurence 1994; Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995; Favro 1996; Hölscher 1998, 2002b; Zanker 2002a; Wallace-Hadrill 2003; Cormack 2004 (with Ewald 2008); Haug 2003; Lott 2004; Neudecker and Zanker 2005; Alcock and Osborne 2007; Gros 2007; Larmour and Spencer 2007. We apologize in advance for any omissions from this list. For approaches to space in “historical archaeology” in general, see the contributions by C. Holtdorf and H. Williams, as well as L. A. De Cunzio and J. H. Ernstein, in Hicks and Beaudry 2006: 235–72.

fabric. To the flâneur of the imperial period – admittedly a modern figure for which there was no *exact* ancient equivalent (Hubbard 2006: 102) – the city presented itself as an agglomerate of public and private spaces, all multiply ordered, differently programmed, and “charged.” These spaces always revealed the entire splendor of their ornamentation and furnishings in an “inward-looking” manner and were demarcated outwardly in various ways through barriers, walls, arched monuments, real and imagined demarcations, the ritual staging of transitions, etc. They could clearly differ to some extent in their quality and decoration, but were in each case specific *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 2006; Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp 2006) and were bound to different social rhythms and temporal structures (e.g., the imperial fora). Naturally, these places were also “gendered” spaces, to which men and women not only had varying degrees of access (or access at different times), but in which social intercourse between the sexes was also subject to various rules (the great baths and the Amphitheater, for example, versus the Field of Mars or the Circus Maximus) – to say nothing about the omnipresent social and status distinctions.

First, there was the central and southern Campus Martius with its theaters, baths, and porticoes, the “luxury shopping centers” and sporting facilities, which owed their existence to the *liberalitas* of Republican generals and to the emperors of the first two centuries. Here were concentrated above all those buildings and amenities that epitomized the enjoyment of urban life. The northern Campus Martius was of an entirely different character. It was, at least before it was partially built over in the second century AD, an “abstract space” (to borrow a term from Lefebvre 1991) of pure signification in which the monuments of the consecrated emperors and Augustus’ immense solar meridian (cf. Heslin 2007) formulated political and religious messages about the permanence and cosmic dimension of imperial rule. On the Palatine Hill, on the other hand, the encounter with, and perception of, the emperor was programmed not only by court ceremonial, but also by the carefully thought-out architecture of the palace with its complicated paths of circulation and overwhelming display of sculptures, columns, and precious materials. Changes in imperial self-definition and self-image are, moreover, expressed particularly clearly in the spatial arrangements of the imperial palaces.²⁸ Finally, the old political center, the Forum Romanum, had, since the reign of Augustus, and like the imperial fora, been cut off increasingly

²⁸ Hoffmann and Wulff 2004; Zanker 2004b. On aspects of chronology and interpretation of the “Domus Augustana,” see Sojc 2006. On the imperial court, see now Paterson 2007.

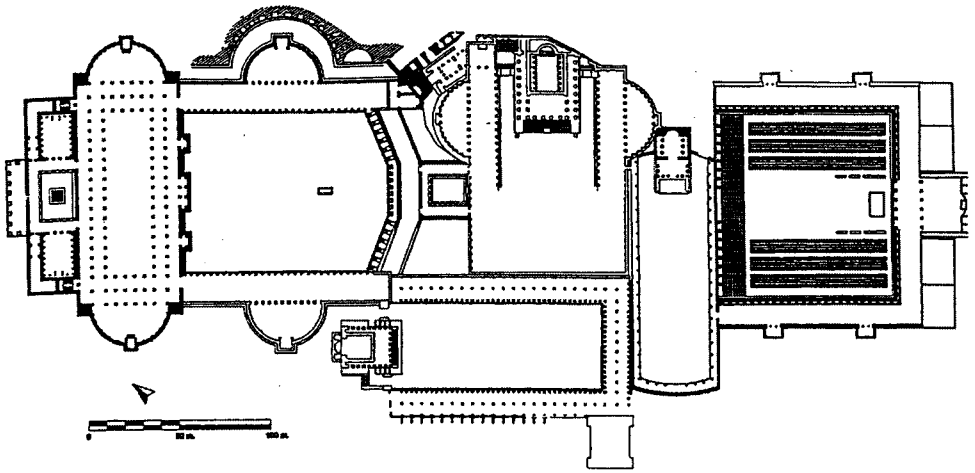


Fig. 1.1 Plan of the Imperial Fora in Rome including the results of the recent excavations.

from through-traffic and converted into an imperial memorial space;²⁹ the animal hunts and gladiatorial games now also took place outside of the Forum Romanum. With its honorary monuments, memorials, and temples to the deified emperors, the old Forum served primarily as a stage for various state ceremonies, but also as an important “zone of contact” between the emperor and the Roman people (Köb 2000, 124–201): on the occasion of triumphs and other processions, for example, or imperial *adlocutiones* from the rostra, as well as various ceremonies of imperial *liberalitas*, such as *congariaria* and the forgiveness of debts and, finally, funerary ceremonies for deceased members of the imperial house (Arce, this volume). The imperial fora, by contrast, had officially been built to relieve the Forum of legal business.³⁰ However, they in fact fulfilled a number of juridical, cultic, and state-ceremonial functions. The imperial fora also made spaces available for the educational enterprises of the imperial period, especially in late antiquity.

Our picture of the imperial fora has been changed considerably through the excavations carried out on the occasion of the *Giubileo* (fig. 1.1). Thus the function of the Forum of Augustus as a model for the Forum of Trajan,

²⁹ See, in particular, Köb 2000: 325–40. On representations of imperial *contiones*, see Giuliani 2000.

³⁰ Köb 2000: 203–332 offers a good discussion of the various functions of the imperial fora and a summary of recent research. And see now Meneghini and Valenzani 2007.

for instance, has become even clearer: the Forum of Augustus originally – that is, before the construction of the neighboring Forum Transitorium and Forum of Trajan (or rather its presumed Domitianic forerunner) – possessed not two but rather four hemicycles (La Rocca 2001: 184; Meneghini and Valenzani 2007: 54–57). While the display of trophies and artworks in the Forum of Augustus was strictly subordinated to a specific imperial program, the decoration of the Templum Pacis – with its rose beds, waterbasins, and Greek works of art, taken in part from the Domus Aurea – evoked rather more a sacrally “charged” villa or palace garden. Finally, with regard to the Forum of Trajan, recent excavations have made improbable the existence – accepted earlier – of the Templum Divi Traiani at the northwestern end of the forum. Instead, it has been suggested that a monumental entrance to the Forum of Trajan from the Field of Mars was located here (La Rocca 2001: 207–08; cf. Packer 2003).

The imperial fora, and the Forum of Augustus in particular, were hybrid forms of space in which the “dual” republican-monarchical character of the Principate was very clearly articulated. On the one hand, they were clearly delimited areas with regulated access that, with the exception of the Forum Transitorium, were closed to through-traffic (La Rocca 2001: 185–86, 210–11). This outward demarcation, as well as the staging of transitions through magnificent monumental arches, corresponded to the different temporality of these places: with the Forum of Augustus, above all, the strict symmetry³¹ and the sacral and political charging of this “abstract space” corresponded to an imperial experience of time programmed on permanence and repetition and displaced from the quotidian experience of linear or cyclical time (Feeney 2007). The imperial myth evoked in the Forum of Augustus by means of an unusually well thought-out program of images was an attempt to establish a stable and lasting structure of meaning, one removed from the vicissitudes of historical change, in the wake of the experiences of chaotic change and acceleration in the late Republic.³² By inscribing this imperial myth into a non-negotiable and inaccessible past, Augustus separated the imperial myth from its contingency and divested it of all appearance of arbitrariness (Assmann 1999: 3–4). Augustus’ Forum is thus an impressive example of what has been aptly characterized as “pastifying” the present (Assmann 1999: 4). The change in materials (marble and stone instead of terracotta and wood), on the one

³¹ Sennett 1994: 90 speaks of the “timeless quality of geometry.”

³² Cf. Assmann 1999: 29: “Imperiale Zeit bedeutet Sakralisierung von Macht und Arretierung temporalen Wandels; sie ist eine Stütze für diejenigen, die ein Interesse haben, die Kontinuität etablierter Strukturen zu sichern, Autorität zu legitimieren und Institutionen zu stabilisieren.”

hand, and the strict symmetry and numerical symbolism, on the other – which, following the results of recent excavations, played a more formative role in the planning of the imperial fora than previously thought³³ – fit with the claim of eternity and the static experience of time.³⁴

Nevertheless, the porticoes of the imperial fora were – or so it seems – also public spaces and promenades that were accessible to all citizens. And the connection between military victory and the raising of a building that followed did not, as Zanker observes, disappear with the imperial fora: they continued the *liberalitas* politics of Republican generals, even if the public spaces of the imperial fora were not connected with buildings for pleasure and entertainment, and did not serve as spaces of leisure, entertainment, and commerce in the same way as, for example, the porticoes in the Campus Martius. On the one hand, this example may indicate how important modern conceptual approaches to space are, and, on the other, how difficult it is to use them to describe in an adequate way the specific quality of ancient spatial formations.

In his essay, Packer deals primarily with the Theater and Portico of Pompey as direct forerunners of imperial building projects such as the fora of Caesar and Augustus. He demonstrates, among other things, how the emperors not only took over the concept of *liberalitas* from the Republican dynasts but also the central elements of their architectural realization: the complex leveling of ground and foundations, symmetrical squares with porticoes and central monuments, the lavish decoration with looted works of art, valuable varieties of marble, high-quality architectural ornament, gardens, and water basins (such as are also found later in the Templum Pacis). Indeed, the whole concept of providing a share in Greek culture for the masses, as well as the organization and presentation of games and animal hunts, already characterized the building projects of Republican generals like Pompey. Augustus' building politics differed from those of his Republican forerunners above all in a quantitative, and thus less in a qualitative, respect (apart from the profoundly changed political environment in which it unfolded). For his porticus and theater, Pompey himself looked to the only slightly older and at that moment highly modern "terrace sanctuaries" of central Italy, but also to preexisting Roman structures such

³³ La Rocca 2001: 173: "... come i fori fossero stati concepiti l'uno in rapporto all'altro con una sorta di contrappunto matematico e perciò anche simbolico." This "mathematical" approach to the organization of space can be mapped onto Lefebvre's (1991) concepts of the "representation of space" and of "abstract space."

³⁴ See also Feeney 2007: 130–37 on the closely related, paradoxical notion of a highly artificial, calculated and mannered return to a "natural" state of being in a "golden age."

as the Porticus Metelli (von Blanckenhagen 1954; La Rocca 2001: 187 ff.); he combined these, however, with a theater on the model of the theater of Mytilene on Lesbos. This outrageous novelty was very wisely erected outside the boundary of the *pomerium*.

The systematic and relational approach practiced by most of the authors in this volume (Boatwright, Eck, Flaig, Mayer, and Zanker, in particular) has the advantage of understanding the monumental Rome of the imperial period – with its particular mix of imperial (imperial baths, imperial fora, theaters and amphitheaters, imperial palaces), senatorial (triumphal arches and honorific columns, for example) and other buildings (the Arch of the Argentarii, for instance) – not as an expression of the “building rage” (resting on personal preferences, and thus erratic and elusive of historical analysis) of successive autocrats, but rather as the visible trace of a “dialogue” between the relevant social constituencies that is itself inscribed into the image of the city: that is, as the remains of a specific segment of a discursive practice through which imperial power was in the first place engendered. We are, in simple terms, dealing with precisely those “positive” and generative effects of power (and their symbolic and semiotic dimensions) that transcend limiting notions of power as repression and coercion, law and sovereignty – without, of course, denying the reality of the latter (Foucault 2000: 111–33; Veyne 1976; also Arweiler and Gauly 2008). This “gift economy” of buildings and monuments developed not only in a field of tension between the relevant political and social groups, but also in relation with the “condemned” or consecrated predecessors, against whom each emperor was in his turn measured, and which exerted a certain “competitive pressure” on him (Zanker, this volume).

Zanker examines the role of the emperor in this system. His role, according to Zanker, was above all to provide spaces and buildings in which partly new and, for the imperial period, characteristic experiences of social “community” were associated with a Greek-styled cultural “charging.” Here the emperor functioned as a benefactor and patron of all Romans. The spaces in which the “leisure time” of political subjects was imperially administered were politically and religiously charged in each case in different ways; the reference to Greek culture, however, formed a leitmotiv in all cases – Greek culture being understood by the Romans in the end as what made one human in the first place – regardless of how apparent this reference might have been to any one individual. In the imperial baths, for instance, the numerous Greek statues became models of ideal physiques for the nude or semi-nude visitors, offered themselves for imaginary identifications, and

provided the necessary “fantasmatic supplement”³⁵ for the enjoyment of the “self.” The Circus Maximus and the Flavian Amphitheater were not only richly adorned with mythological statues and reliefs; in the various performances, such as the “mythical charades,” the emperor also enabled myth “to happen”: in the Flavian Amphitheater, Roman politics, Greek myth, religious acquittal, and a striking staged affirmation of the social order were all bound together into one integrated spectacle.

The architectural politics of the Roman emperors were, as Zanker shows, borne by a unique mix of dynamism and statics particularly visible in the imperial baths but also present in the imperial fora: on the one hand, the same building types, often with very similar ground plans, were always used, but were, on the other hand, always made bigger and better, constructed with costlier materials, and provided with more ornaments and statues, in a manner similar to the old temples, which, beginning with Augustus, were also renovated in a new and always more magnificent form. One could add that both this architectural dynamic and the scale and modernity of the buildings erected by the emperor for his subjects would not have been experienced so dramatically, however, had they not had an absolute counterpoint in the “isomorphism” of the Hut of Romulus on the Palatine Hill (and its twin on the Capitol), which was *not* “modernized” but rather always restored to its “original” (that is, invented in Republican times and then preserved) form. The dialectic between the experience of one’s own modernity and technical prowess and a morally colored anachronism could thus be concretely experienced in the image of the city.³⁶ At the symbolic heart of the splendid metropolis stood its own heterotopic inversion: Romulus’ thatched hut – a type of dwelling that in contemporary discourse would have otherwise characterized socially marginal or outright dangerous groups such as shepherds or barbarians.

³⁵ The term and concept is borrowed from S. Žižek, to whose thinking it is central (e.g., Žižek 1997; Žižek 2006: 12). This is certainly not the place to follow up on the perspectives that could result from such a line of thinking for our understanding of the much-discussed “Roman reception of Greek art” as reflected by the display of sculptures in the imperial baths. The role and function of Greek works of art within the visual culture of Rome, and its impact on the emergence of new, “specular” forms of self, and of a new “libidinal economy” characteristic of imperial period culture, remain to be explored beyond the steps that have already been taken in similar directions by, among others, Elsner 1995; Muth 1998; Fredrick 2002; Zanker 2002c; Zanker and Ewald 2004; Bartsch 2006; Elsner 2007; Zanker 2007. For an attempt to put a psychoanalytical approach into archaeological practice, see the contributions in Sojc 2005.

³⁶ These questions occupied a central place in a seminar taught jointly by one of the editors (Ewald) and Christopher Wood, both at Yale and in Rome, in 2004.

The buildings that were erected by the emperors for the citizens of Rome (the great imperial baths above all, of course) clearly surpassed in scale the buildings that the emperors erected for themselves, including the *domus* on the Palatine. As Zanker demonstrates, this is connected with the survival of “Republican” traditions in the Principate and the concept of patronage: the emperor acted as patron of all Romans (cf. Horster 1997). The imperial building projects show – and this is nowhere clearer than in the foundation inscription of the Flavian Amphitheater as reconstructed by Alföldy 1995 – that the connection established in the Republic between military victory and subsequent acts of *liberalitas* was not lost in the imperial period.

Zanker’s essay should be seen together with the concept of *Bildräume* that he has developed elsewhere (Zanker 2000a; 2000b; 2007). This is one of the few concepts of space that has been developed in the context of an art- and cultural-historical oriented archaeology, and it issues from a particular interest in the interaction and interdependence of specific spaces and the images found within them. Fundamentally, Zanker differentiates between public, urban space on the one hand and the semi-private and private spaces of the home and tomb on the other, spaces which were in each case associated with certain preferences with regard to the choice of themes for their imagery and which corresponded to certain attitudes and expectations of their ancient viewers. Despite its striking simplicity, the concept of *Bildräume* does important work: it simply brings back together that which once belonged together but which was and usually is separated in archaeological interpretation – both in archaeological typologies, classifications, series of developments, and divisions of media and artistic genres, which often reach back into the nineteenth century (and beyond), and also in the much more recent semiotic model of Roman art, which draws on the method and model of structural linguistics as well as of Roman rhetoric (Hölscher 2004), but which by its very nature can only give a limited amount of attention to the concrete spatial context of images. The concept of *Bildräume* cuts straight through these typologies, lines of development, and structural connections. In their place it puts a variety of spontaneous connections between artifacts of different provenance and date that are constantly, though by no means arbitrarily, ordered into new formations of meaning corresponding to the often selective and fleeting interest of their beholders: images of various date and in diverse media are “experienced as a whole” and are no longer only sediments of the ideas or perceptive modes of a single epoch. In this respect, the concept of *Bildräume* is related to poststructuralist methods of deconstruction and, among archaeological approaches to space, Zanker’s matches most closely Soja’s (1989: 2) demand

for a consequent “spatial hermeneutic.”³⁷ The historical, diachronic dimension is present in the concept of *Bildräume* above all in the idea of *memoria*, which likewise places emphasis on the fragmentary, fabricated, subjective, and socially constructed aspects of history. The concept of *Bildräume* thus goes beyond the mapping, so frequent in archaeology, of building and developmental phases of urban spaces – which Zanker himself, for example, undertook decades ago in a work on the Forum Romanum and which corresponded to a traditional, stratigraphic, and linear understanding of time – and instead seeks to provide a frame for open, situation-specific interpretations that go beyond proving stable formations of meaning and “ideologies” in so-called “programs” of imagery (again, Zanker himself did the latter in the late 1960s in an influential study of the Forum Augustum).

The concept of *Bildräume*, therefore, is amongst others so efficient, because the concept of “art” was so weakly articulated in antiquity. And the less pronounced the concept of art in a society, the greater the importance of the contexts and “frames” within which the individual work of “art” was seen and “received”: in antiquity, art above all defined the specific quality of spaces, just as, conversely, the specific place in which images appeared – and thus also the range of expectations of viewers – decisively conditioned and influenced their reception.

As Zanker observes, with the buildings that the Roman emperors erected for the people a firm frame was created for imperial *liberalitas*: henceforth, events played out in magnificent buildings and no longer only in public spaces fitted out with ephemeral architecture. This must – despite, doubtless, some moral objections and misgivings – have been seen as an enhancement and improvement with respect to the Republic. The permanent architectonic “appreciation” and monumentalization of public space, moreover, contributed to the smoothing out of differences between the “everyday” and “festive,” instead of emphasizing them, like today.³⁸ As D’Ambra demonstrates, the experience of urban space was, however, no less marked by the many instances of temporary “ephemeral architecture,” often erected following the calendar of festivals: by the structures that were erected for the hospitality and entertainment of the people on various celebrations, for instance, or by the tribunes raised for the spectators of

³⁷ The concept of *Bildräume*, with its decisive respatializing of archaeological hermeneutics, can thus also serve as a corrective to extreme formulations of the iconographic method, according to which meaning is generated primarily along the lines of visual analogies between images in different media. The challenge lies, as is usually the case, in finding a balance between these different approaches.

³⁸ It is perhaps worth noting in this context that the separation of “everyday” and the “festival” was already, for Lefebvre 2008: 1.207, 3.135, a symptom of the “lost unity” of modern life.

triumphs and other celebratory processions, by the stalls of traders and money changers, and by the elaborate funeral pyres of imperial apotheoses. Unlike the senatorial and imperial buildings and monuments, these structures did not become part of Rome's "monumental" memory, but they did periodically transform the quality of certain spaces and create "stagings" that must have impressed themselves on the individual viewer. From the point of view of space, these stagings (such as the course of a triumphal procession, for example) followed a different, often very archaic and "symbolic topography" (Arce, this volume) with respect to the imperial buildings, and, in a temporal respect, their basis was not in a linear or static but rather in a cyclic experience of time: the social rhythms of rituals, celebrations, and festivals – in short, "everything that enters into the everyday in order to impress upon it an extra-everyday rhythm without interrupting it in so doing" (Lefebvre and Régulier 2004: 94). As D'Ambra observes with reference to Juvenal, such "ephemeral architectures" could even hinder the view of Roman "landmarks" – a hard blow for archaeologists, who are fond of constructing arguments based on the existence of viewing axes.

It is not the intention of this volume to present a comprehensive picture of the transformation of the urban space of the city of Rome in the imperial period. Instead, we offer two "probes," both nevertheless in strategic places in which, in fact, decisive phases of the development of the city abut: namely, in Antonine Rome, in which the first cracks in the foundations on which the certainty of stability and permanence rested began to show (Boatwright), and then in the Rome of Maxentius and Constantine (Marlowe), in which the restoration of Rome's old role and the sensitive balance between imperial presence in and absence from Rome became dominant themes.

Boatwright demonstrates how building projects in the Rome of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius were shaped by the experience of a pacified, stable, and ordered world and by the self-referentiality of an élite accustomed to identifying with the imperial family and its values and well-being. Thus, with their buildings in the middle of the Field of Mars – the Temples for Matidia and Marciana, aligned in a unified manner with the Pantheon, and the Hadrianeum – Hadrian and Antoninus Pius inscribed dynastic discourse into the image of the city; the Senate, by contrast, dedicated a temple much more dependent on "Italic design" to the deified Faustina on the Forum Romanum. This remarkable increase in the importance of the role of the empresses and the emphasis on *pietas* and *concordia* within the imperial family find their echo in Antoninus Pius' restoration of the Temple of Divus Augustus with its seated statues of Augustus and Livia. Boatwright speaks of an "introspective emphasis" and an "inward turn"; here one could

also refer to parallel developments in the private realm, particularly in the funerary arts, in which a similar discourse around marital *concordia*, emotionality, and physicality develops and in which Rome's senatorial élite in particular adapts the virtues, values, and modes of imperial representation in remarkable unanimity.³⁹

All this effort for permanence and harmony, for measure and proportion, for equanimity and piety, finds its adequate formal correlate in the well-proportioned, delicately linear, and classicizing formal language of the time. With the Antonine plague, increasing pressure on the frontiers, and Lucius Verus' military engagement with the Parthians, the 160s mark a turning point. Now, the connection between military victory and triumph and the subsequent imperial *liberalitas* again makes a strong return to the foreground, while Hadrian's concept of a "nonviolent incorporation of others in Rome's empire" (Boatwright) and Antoninus Pius' familial and dynastic concerns recede into the background. Precisely on account of the tranquil preceding period, this emergent anxiety must have been experienced all the more intensely and as particularly uncanny; its high point, also in a formal respect, is reached in the "psychagogic eruption" (Hölscher 2000: 105) of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. What follows is a relatively nervous coexistence of the conceptual emphasis on boundaries on the one hand and, on the other, the increasingly real blurring of categories such as public, functional, and private, Roman and barbarian. It is almost impossible, in this context, not to resort to a psychological explanation of some sort: the traumatic events cause considerable turbulence in the register of the symbolic, which is no longer able to provide an adequate response and frame of reference.

It is here, with the dynamic sketched out by Boatwright and through the threats along the borders, that the above-mentioned tension between imperial presence in and absence from Rome sets in. As is well known, this tension led during the Tetrarchy to the foundation of imperial residences which lay closer to the threatened borders but which weakened Rome's importance, and which find their final consequence in Constantine's departure from the city and the foundation of a "New Rome" on the Bosphorus. Maxentius was able, as Marlowe shows, to use precisely this tension in his attempt to restore Rome as "imperial capital." Maxentius' self-styling as *conservator urbis suae* finds its monumental expression in the various architectural initiatives which he, on the model of the imperial patrons of the first

³⁹ Zanker 1995: 267–89; Swain 1996: 118–31; Muth 1998: 292–310; Wrede 2001; Ewald 2003; Zanker 2003; Zanker and Ewald 2004; Ewald 2005; Reinsberg 2006: 170–90; and for the public adoption of these "private" values by the imperial regime itself, Noreña 2007. For the historical side, see in particular Veyne 1987; Dixon 1991.

two centuries, tackled – particularly in the building anew of the Temple of Venus and Roma, linked directly through the Palilia festival to the origins of Rome. Marlowe highlights not only the importance and the broad spectrum of Maxentius' building activities, but also how Constantine's usurpation and continuation of Maxentius' building projects – such as the “Basilica Nova” and the “Temple of Romulus” on the upper Via Sacra – pose questions about our customary assessment of Constantine as radical Christian innovator and the antipode of Maxentius who neglected Rome's pagan center. A differentiated answer emerges: Maxentius had shown that Rome's “symbolic capital” could still be reminted into “real political power” (Marlowe). Constantine met this threat with a dual strategy: on the one hand, with a weakening of Rome's actual power, on the other, with a continuation of Maxentius' architectural patronage, to which, despite the *damnatio memoriae* hung on his predecessor, he acceded as direct successor. Remarkable continuities are also, as Marlowe shows, to be observed in the minting of coins. And with the restoration and embellishment of the Circus Maximus, Constantine even showed himself to be a benefactor of the old school.

Constantine's departure from Rome, however, marked a true turning point. Now it was above all the senatorial aristocracy under the *praefectus urbi* that concerned itself with the preservation of buildings and honorary monuments and that strove well into the fifth century to fill the vacuum left by the emperor.⁴⁰ Even after the temples had been closed and the pagan cults outlawed, they restored the deeply symbolic buildings in the Forum Romanum, such as the Temple of Saturn, the portico of the Di Consentes, and the Basilica Aemilia, within the bounds of their capabilities and with the help of *spolia*. If one adds to this the results of the most recent excavations in the area of the imperial fora, a fascinating picture emerges of the simultaneity of deterioration and new uses alien to the original function on the one hand and efforts at repair and restoration on the other (La Rocca 2001; Valenzani 2001).

III. Representation

The dialectic between imperial presence in and absence from Rome addressed by Marlowe was also of decisive importance for the development of ruler imagery, in particular during the third century AD. The widening divergence between the emperor's increasing physical absence from

⁴⁰ Bauer 1996: 134–41; 2001; La Rocca 2001: 181–84.

Rome itself and unchanged expectations concerning imperial omnipresence and accessibility forcibly led to the construction of the emperor as a type of “structural object” which also, in instances of actual absence, remained present in the center of power as a ceremonially animated point of reference.⁴¹ The entire form of imperial ceremonial, the veneration of images, and the symbolic charging of attributes and symbols of rank cannot be separated from this context, which was further strengthened in the transition to late antiquity through the forces of bureaucratization and hierarchization.⁴² The above-mentioned phenomena were, moreover, naturally also an attempt to provide a new foundation for imperial authority, to make that authority less vulnerable to attack and less dependent on acclamation through the army.⁴³

The effigy of the emperor, which was used on the occasion of the funerals *in effigie* discussed by Arce, was already one such “structural object” and a legitimate substitute for the emperor, one whose destruction in the ritual burning on the funeral pyre not only dramatized the transition into an invisible state as a feature of the “divine nature” now acquired by the emperor, but also suggested dialectically and at the same time with a type of “image-magic” a former presence.⁴⁴ Even though, as Kantorowicz already saw (1957: 421–23), an elaborate “political theology” (with its characteristic separation of “body natural” and “body politic” on the moment of the emperor’s death) did not stand, as it did in the Middle Ages, behind these acts of substitution and the multiplication of imperial presence in the framework of burial ceremony, an understanding of “substitution” clearly different from our modern conceptions certainly did. At any rate, the many accounts recording the equation of the emperor with his image (e.g., Stichel 1982: 5–7; Pekáry 1985: 116–33; Kelly 2004: 242; Stewart 2004; Vout 2007: 27–31) should, in our opinion, be taken more seriously than is customarily the case among archaeologists. There are deeper issues here that have not yet been sufficiently addressed: the emperor and his various visual “multiplications” did not exist, in a conceptual and ontological respect at least, in a hierarchical relationship between the “Urbild” and its inferior copy, but

⁴¹ The terms “structural object” and “substitution” (see above and below) are here applied in the original structuralist sense in which they were used by Barthes 1977: 46.

⁴² On these much discussed characteristics of the Roman empire in late antiquity, see in particular Kelly 2004; Eich 2005. On the imperial image and portrait in the later imperial period and late antiquity, see, in particular, Alföldi 1970; Bergmann 1998; Fittschen and Zanker 1985; and various contributions in Ensoli and La Rocca 2000.

⁴³ On the historical discussion, see Dahlheim 2003: 186 (with earlier literature).

⁴⁴ On some of the thanatological issues addressed by Arce, see Assmann and Trauzettel 2002. For an illuminating iconology of imperial apotheosis, see Beard and Henderson 1998.

rather were links in a “chain” of objects held together by various “similitudes,” such as “analogy” and “resemblance.”⁴⁵ Whereas a nuanced discussion around such acts of substitution and replication, which affect all areas of image production, has already been underway for some time now in art history and *Bildanthropologie*,⁴⁶ classical archaeologists still have notorious difficulties thinking outside their modern (post-Renaissance) parameters of “original” and “copy.”⁴⁷

The images and statues that multiplied and extended imperial presence throughout the Roman empire numbered, as Fittschen suggests, (at least) in the hundreds of thousands (cf. Ando 2000: 206–73). The visual omnipresence of the Roman emperor (and of his family) engendered by means of images must consequently have been, in fact, overwhelming – even, as Fittschen notes, when one draws a comparison with the dissemination of the ruler’s image in modern absolutist or totalitarian forms of rule. And when one pauses to question what these statues themselves actually “saw” (Safran 2006) and what it meant, in the public realm at least, to find oneself constantly in the emperor’s field of vision, then it is not difficult to recognize in such instances of imperial visual omnipresence a specifically ancient form of “panopticism,”⁴⁸ one worthy of deeper investigation. The “invasive gaze” of the emperor, of which Bartsch has spoken in a different context,⁴⁹ was, in any case, more than just a metaphor. It is well known that this “gaze of the emperor,” once internalized, forced the former élites to revise and redefine a whole set of social and personal relations (Bartsch 2006).

This imperial omnipresence has been and continues to be examined by archaeologists from a variety of perspectives (Dally 2007): for example, with regard to the relationship between the various modes of imperial representation and those of the private representation of individuals from different social classes, from members of the senatorial class (Eck) through

⁴⁵ We are borrowing some of the terminology from Foucault 1971, who examines changing regimes of signification from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries.

⁴⁶ See in particular Nagel 2004; Nagel and Wood 2005. From an “anthropological” perspective, also Belting 2002 (with Wood 2004); Belting 2005. Of seminal importance for all of this is Vernant’s thinking on the category of the “double” in Vernant 1965 (2006: 321–49); Foucault 1971: 17–77; as well as Barthes’ “structural object” (Barthes 1977, see above); also George Kubler’s notion of the “series” (Kubler 1962).

⁴⁷ For a recent discussion of some of those issues in the context of a review of literature on Roman “copying,” see Hallett 2005b.

⁴⁸ The term is here applied in a sense that is broader and less specific than the one in which it was originally used by Foucault 1977: 195–228, although there are parallels in the general notion of a subject being constituted through a “fictitious relation” (202).

⁴⁹ Bartsch 2006: 7, with reference to Bartsch 1994.

to freedmen; with regard to the imperial portraits' strategic assimilation to or distancing from the image of certain predecessors (Schneider 2002);⁵⁰ further, with regard to the spatial distribution and the contexts of imperial portraits both within and outside of Rome;⁵¹ or, finally, with regard to the differences between portrait schemata and statue types which were used during the subject's lifetime and those which were used posthumously.⁵² The statuary representation of the women of the Roman imperial house has also received intensified attention in recent years (Mikocki 1999; Alexandridis 2004).

Both the statues of the Roman emperors and members of the imperial family and their portraits normally follow certain determinate "types." The selection of these types corresponds to the different roles and functions of these individuals but can also, in individual cases, point to a change in the imperial "image." Alongside the customary representation of the emperor in the toga, which also remained the most common mode of representation for images made posthumously, there were representations of the emperor in heroic pose, nude or clothed only in a hip mantle, with the attributes of different gods, as well as images of him clad in the chlamys or cuirass (Hallett 2005a; Fejfer 2007). The various occasions that led to the creation and introduction of these statue and portrait types, as well as their temporal and geographic distribution, have been the subject of intense archaeological research (Fittschen, this volume).

It is remarkable just how many of the statue types and iconographies used in imperial representation could be adapted by private individuals. Thus, for example, private individuals were equated, just as the emperor was, with gods and heroes, both in statues (in which case it might have been in most instances a matter of funerary statues) and on their marble sarcophagi, decorated with relief sculpture. The only exception is presented by the Jupiter type, in which the particular authority of the emperor had found a valid form of expression, and which was, accordingly, out of reach for private individuals (Hallett 2005a: 163–72). But *precisely because* of the otherwise relatively free use of the "theomorphic portrait" and of other representational modes for both members of the imperial house and private persons, the concrete place of display and context of the portraits was of crucial importance.

⁵⁰ After an earlier wave of interest in the 1970s, the art of Roman freedmen has recently received much attention again, see Clarke 2003; Petersen 2006; Metraux and D'Ambra 2006. For statuary representation of various social groups in late antiquity, see now Bauer and Witschel 2007.

⁵¹ For example Boschung 2002; Deppmeyer 2008. ⁵² Most recently Hallett 2005a.

In the present volume the importance of space and context for the relationship between imperial and senatorial representation is examined in particular by Eck. On account of the hegemony of the emperor, established under Augustus, over public space in the center of the imperial capital city, senators in Rome were themselves either cut off from crucially important representational possibilities (above all those associated with the triumph), or, alternatively, the remaining forms of honor, such as the *ornamenta triumphalia*, were linked with the person of the emperor and were only to be initiated or sanctioned by him. Honors without imperial approval were from now on only possible in the semiprivate space of the house or villa (often magnificent and located, above all, on the Caelian and Aventine Hills) or outside of Rome, in the cities of Italy and the provinces. Eck demonstrates how, under these pressures, a new form of honoring came into being: namely, under-lifesize equestrian statues, which were displayed in the house or villa on bases in the form of *trapezophora* provided with inscriptions, and which were often dedicated by the clients of the *patronus* honored by the statue. In the public spaces of the provincial cities, by contrast, there was no direct competition with the emperor; senatorial buildings could even overshadow the buildings honoring the members of the imperial house. There was also a certain flexibility in the funerary realm, in which, after Augustus, the form of the monumental tumulus tomb became, it is true, uncommon with private individuals, but extravagant funerary monuments nonetheless continued to be erected. But here, too, the provincial cities offered almost unlimited possibilities for representation, which (as in the case of Celsus Polemaeanus in Ephesus, for example) could include the particular honor of a tomb *intra muros*. “The Imperium Romanum,” as Eck concludes, “was larger than Rome.”

Koortbojian’s essay, however, brings us back into the realm of imperial representation. He investigates the genesis of a specific imperial representational mode, the cuirass portrait (*statua loricata*), and seeks to elucidate the specific connotations of this form of honor in military costume *within* the *pomerium*. Above all, he is concerned with the cuirassed statue of Caesar in the Forum Iulium, perhaps the most prominent of the early examples of this representational mode. Caesar (and, as the case may be, the senators honoring him) presumably selected this type of representation because he sought, at a critical moment, to make palpably clear in Rome his “authority as the sole supreme commander” while he dwelled in Alexandria. Although Caesar did not yet, at the time of the statue’s creation and display, hold the right to wear the *toga picta* granted to those celebrating a triumph, he was already *dictator* for the second time – in 48/47 BC – and thus also

possessed *imperium* within the bounds of the *pomerium*. The statue therefore visualized Caesar's "extraordinary status, legal and political, both *domi et militiae*." Against the background of this statue, Koortbojian then cautiously contextualizes the famous cuirassed statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, which, for its part, apparently had as a typological model a cuirassed statue erected for Augustus by Agrippa in the porch of the Pantheon around 25 BC. The Prima Porta statue, likely created around 19 BC, is, Koortbojian argues, not only *not* a "triumphal" mode of representation, but rather even implies an "anti-triumphal" gesture: it simply shows Augustus as "*imperator* rather than *triumphator*." Thus, with this statue Augustus demonstrated his "unprecedented legal status," which was in no way limited by the *pomerium*. Koortbojian closes his essay with a brief "look forward" at Vitellius' change in costume – from the military *paludamentum* to the civil toga – on the occasion of his entry into Rome in AD 69. He demonstrates that the change in costume did not occur because it was constitutionally required, but rather because Vitellius sought, with the toga, to make open reference to the *mos maiorum*.

Typologies also play an important role in research on the portrait heads that were once associated with such imperial statues. Fittschen addresses the question of the creation and dissemination of these imperial portrait types (and of those of the members of the imperial family) through a critical review of the methods used in the study of Roman imperial portraiture. These methods were once developed as a compensation for the lack of secure contexts and portraits with identifying inscriptions, for, unfortunately, it is the case that precisely in Rome itself, where presumably the greatest concentration of imperial portraits was to be found, the find contexts are particularly unclear. The types of imperial portraits briefly mentioned above play a particular role in this archaeological method, although it must be said here that the attribution of the Roman portraits to these various types as well as the entire complex of implications and scope of the term "type" are themselves the subject of controversy. Archaeologists have nonetheless sought to connect the different portrait types employed for a given emperor – which sometimes, though by no means always, also indicate a change in the imperial "image" – with particular events, such as triumphs, the assumption of honorary titles, adoptions, accession to imperial rule, and anniversaries such as the *decennalia* and *vicennalia*. Admittedly, such a connection cannot always be reconstructed, and the different "types" not only continued to be produced alongside each other after their original "invention," but were also sometimes mixed in a single portrait. The imperial portraits from workshops in the provinces also force questions about the validity of the model

of centrally disseminated types. Fittschen is aware of these problems, but reaffirms the lack of plausible alternatives to traditional methods. And in so doing, he offers an eloquent and passionate, at times combative, defense of a (now well-seasoned) epistemological model based on connoisseurship, typology, and the positivistic documentation of the available material. Within the confines of this model, “progress” is made primarily through improved documentation and the expansion of the material basis of study. Fittschen also examines the complicated and much-discussed relationship of the imperial portrait to the private portrait and the question of their reciprocal influence (*Bildnisangleichung*). Overall, then, Fittschen’s contribution illustrates the great successes and undeniable merits of the typological approach to portraiture (which remains fundamental), but also its inherent limitations and circumscribed conceptual underpinnings. And it is only fair to note that the typological approach relies on conceptual underpinnings and tacit assumptions like any other, including those criticized in Fittschen’s contribution. The bright light that the typological method throws on its objects comes, as has long been noted (e.g. Vout 2005; 2007), at the price of leaving many other facets and dimensions in the shadows – at least when it is practiced to the exclusion of other methods.

Where a monolithic state apparatus is not at work, but instead the balance between different relevant social groups has to be negotiated and dealt with anew in the media of images and monuments, the imperial portrait and statuary must indeed also be perspectively “split” – and this both in a social and geographic respect. Mayer demonstrates precisely this in his essay: in the many different and coexisting representational modes of the Roman emperor within and outside Rome are reflected not only the emperor’s own self-understanding, but also the range of expectations of the social groups honoring him (also Pekáry 1985: 4–12). There was no centrally directed, prescribed, and “monitored” imperial image; rather, the relevant social groups and individuals seeking to honor the emperor with statues, portraits, and monuments attempted to do justice to what they perceived the imperial self-image to be and, at the same time, to do justice to those elements that corresponded to their own expectations for an ideal image of a “good” emperor. Their monuments were “reactions *towards* and not a tool of imperial self-representation” (Mayer); here, the actual art lay, much as it did in panegyric, in hitting the right note. That in the East, for instance, the imperial honorific was translated into local categories of ruler worship – which, in turn, generated new, “hybrid” forms of images (Alcock 2002: 86–92) – is well known; the nude mythological role play of Claudius and Nero (alias “Achilles”) on the reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (Smith

1987) is one of the most striking examples. This perspective splitting up of the imperial image led to multiple “breaks” in the “image” of the emperor, breaks which were, as Mayer demonstrates, indeed noted by those senators (with their élite Roman perspective) traveling around the Roman empire.

But even within Rome, as Mayer stresses, there were great differences in the image of the emperor. A monument such as the Ara Pacis was not only decreed by the senate, but its imagery – with the great amount of available space that was dedicated to the representation of a senatorial procession – also “breathes a strong senatorial and even republican ethos.” The senate’s founding of the Ara Pacis was indeed itself the result of Augustus’ refusal of an altar for his return in the Senate House. In a subtle play with the demonstrative rejection of personal honors, Augustus finally accepted a dedication to *pax Augusta*. In the first two centuries AD, the senate actually maintained an image of the emperor that was dominated by republican *virtutes* and that represented the emperor as belonging to the same “community of values” (Mayer 2002). It is indeed remarkable, one could add, how much space is given to personifications of the senate alongside those of the *populus Romanus* and representations of the various priesthoods and other relevant groups in Roman “official” art. A completely different image of the emperor was maintained by the *liberti* who as *vicomagistri* oversaw the cult of Augustus in the various parts of the city of Rome: they honored the emperor in a nearly religious manner as *genius Augusti*, in the typical patterns of the patron–client relationship and domestic religion, and thus answered in what they felt was an appropriate way the *beneficia* received from the emperor.⁵³

Similar dynamics also apply, as Mayer shows, in the case of the three honorific monuments for Septimius Severus which he compares. The triumphal arch in the Forum Romanum, founded by the SPQR, puts particular emphasis on the predominance of the Roman army; although the emperor takes on an important role here, he stands entirely in the service of the state. On the “Arch of the Argentarii,” erected by the bankers and “local entrepreneurs” in the Forum Boarium, on the other hand, the emphasis does not lie on the deeds of the emperor, but rather on the almost fully frontally represented members of the imperial family, to whom the scenes of sacrifice are subordinated. Finally, on the Arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna, the emperor is quite bluntly (and entirely differently from the arch in Rome) praised as Jupiter (and his wife Julia Domna as Juno Regina), that is, in his role as a distanced, divine ruler. Although Mayer

⁵³ On the imperial presence in Rome’s *vici*, see Wallace-Hadrill 2003.

(given his focus on the praxeological and performative aspects of the dedication of monuments rather than on questions of formal analysis) does not pursue this avenue, his analysis of the dynamics of patronage also engenders new perspectives on much-discussed phenomena associated with Bianchi-Bandinelli's "arte plebeia," such as frontality, for example.⁵⁴ Frontality, insofar as it constructs the image of the emperor as an object of direct and unrestrained veneration, has much to do with the specific social vision of the dedicants, for it forces an asymmetrical relationship between viewer and represented. That this type of representation could serve as a model for the hieratic and ceremonial image of the emperor in late antiquity, which accords the viewer a comparable role as admirer and worshiper, is only plausible.

Mayer also describes the relatively stable structure (compare Hölscher 1980; 2004) of this system of honors into the early third century AD; thus, the marked conservatism that Zanker detects in the emperor's "buildings for the people" repeats itself on the level of individual monuments and imperial honorific. Especially in the panegyric of the imperial period, which, structurally, lends itself best to comparison with the public monuments and its world of images, this stasis could also become something of a problem: the particularity of the Roman emperors was very difficult to stage serially (Plin. *Pan.* 2–3). In any case, it seems that this stasis, which has been diagnosed repeatedly by Hölscher (e.g., 1980; 2004), is certainly more than just the result of a structuralist outlook, but perhaps not quite a general characteristic of Roman art: rather, it is the result of the inherent logic that governs this particular segment of Roman art. It is – to take the other extreme – not by accident that Riegl's narrative of the formal transformation of art during the Roman imperial period and in late antiquity (Riegl 1901: 83–236) was based not so much on works of "official art" (though the Constantinian reliefs from the Arch of Constantine and a few other "state monuments" feature prominently) but rather on Roman sarcophagi in which the articulation of "period style" is more pronounced and coincides more clearly with thematic shifts and which, consequently, lend themselves better to a narrative of evolution and formal change.

⁵⁴ Most recent discussion of the issue of frontality by Elsner 2000, with important and trenchant observations. A critically informed formalist art history, operating within new paradigms, may well be one of the more interesting and challenging projects that lie ahead. Hannestad 1988 remains an excellent and historically informed evolutionary account of Roman sculpture. For recent engagements with the issue, see Strobel 1993: 39–48; Hölscher 2000 (Antonine "Stilwandel"); Zanker and Ewald 2004, 247–66; Veyne 2005: 749–865.

Mayer speaks (in the context of the monuments discussed by him) not of propaganda, but of a “culture of public praise.” And in point of fact, the term “propaganda,” so often used in connection with imperial representation, should ideally be given up altogether. Admittedly, the term is employed by modern interpreters in such a vague manner and in so many different ways that criticism of it is only made with difficulty. Its semantic spectrum is considerable and reaches from the legitimate dissemination of political and economic interests to purposive mass-psychological manipulation.⁵⁵ To this must be added the historical change which the term propaganda has undergone as well as, on a geographic level, the vast differences in its connotations (in the United States and in Europe, for example). There are therefore no clear criteria for the designation of art as propaganda: if one chooses as a criterion, as Ellul does, the existence of means of mass communication and the investigation of the human psyche for the purpose of manipulating and controlling it, as well as the use of psychic reflexes (Ellul 1964: 363–75; Ellul 1965) or, like Levy 2007, the systematic concealment of the true authorship of a message and the “transformative . . . effect of its reception,” then “official” Roman art can on no account be characterized as propaganda. And while propaganda is usually intended to influence or condition future action, Roman state monuments were, on the contrary, meant to offer accounts of past acts and events, ritualized expressions of loyalty and consent, diagrams of Roman conceptions of imperial power, and “presentifications” of the empire’s symbolic universe, all within a relatively stable and essentially panegyric semantic structure that centered on a small number of key imperial virtues. If, however, one takes as a criterion “the hypnotic repetition of the same complex of ideas, the same images,” or the use of psychological “scapegoat-mechanisms,” or the propagation of “ready-made” enemies “whom it is lawful to kill,” or the suppression

⁵⁵ Ellul 1964: 363–75 and Ellul 1965 are of fundamental importance, though embedded in a humanistic critique of technology that in itself has become problematic since (see M. Poster, “Technology,” in Kritzman 2006: 338). Also Schieder-Dipper 1984; Bussemer 2005; Levy 2004: 56–71 and *passim*; Jowett and O’Donnell 2006; Levy 2007 (on the relation between “art” and “propaganda”). A common definition of “propaganda” is the one given by Jowett and O’Donnell 2006: 7: “Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.” Classical archaeologists have occasionally offered brief discussions of the term “propaganda” and its applicability to archaeological discourse, for example Hannestad 1986: 9–14; Bergmann 2000; Mayer 2002: 1–22; Alexandridis 2004: 7–8; Dally 2007. For discussions of the issue by ancient historians (and archaeologists), see in particular the various contributions in Weber and Zimmermann 2003; De Blois *et al.* 2003; Enenkel and Pfeiffer 2005. Also Eich 2000: 350–72; Lendon 2006: 61. This is, unfortunately, not the place to engage in detail with these often very nuanced and informative treatments of the issue of propaganda.

of individuals' "critical faculties" as well as the formation of a "good social conscience" (Ellul 1964: 363–75), then one can at least consider using the term – despite all the inherent problems – in a Roman imperial context.

In the face of such difficulties of definition, however, it is perhaps more meaningful to ask just what functions the term "propaganda" actually fulfills in archaeological discourse. And here one realizes that the term discloses, above all, an unease: unease with the aestheticization of politics and the shrouding of Roman constitutional processes and rites of the state religion in the lofty forms of Greek art (which were originally, however, in reality hardly less "political"); unease concerning the excess of iconographic and historical information and the lack of precisely that enigmatic core of meaning that characterizes "true" works of art; unease with the talkative directness (rather than taciturn polysemy) of Roman works of "official" art; and, finally, unease with "the image's instrumentality" (Levy 2007), which stands in stark contrast to works of "true art" in which "function" is usually subordinate to "meaning."

Therefore, the term propaganda is, in connection with Roman imperial art, also problematic because it presupposes that images have a transformative effect which, for the "official art" of the imperial period, does not absolutely apply. The entire impact and meaning of images, particularly those of Roman "state art," for the creation of a political consensus have in recent times been questioned, on the basis of their very visibility, by Veyne (1988; 1990a; 2002a; 2005: 379–418).⁵⁶ In his book on art and culture under Augustus, Zanker (1987) had already replaced the term propaganda with the concept of "self-driven" proliferation and adaptation resting, fundamentally, on the suggestive power of images themselves (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1989; Levy 2004: 64–65; Veyne 2005: 414–18; non vidimus: Schneider 2008). Nonetheless, he still ascribed to images a central role in the dissemination of ideologies: subtle, indeed hidden messages about the blessings of Augustan rule are to be found everywhere, and are at the same time decoded by Zanker in an "enlightening" act of ideology critique. Veyne, for his part, notes that in antiquity there was no such thing as a public manipulated and politicized through images (Veyne 1990b: 378–83; 2005: 379–418);⁵⁷ and he contests wholesale the effectiveness of the often barely perceptible "state reliefs" and instead recognizes in them a ritualized form of "expression," one in which

⁵⁶ For an attempt to chart the uses and functions of political imagery in Rome, and to measure its efficacy on the basis of literary evidence, see also Gregory 1994. The question of actual responses to statues in the Roman world is now explored in greater detail by Stewart 2004.

⁵⁷ As Veyne 2005: 381 succinctly puts it in his recent reworking of the issue of propaganda: "La formation d'une relation d'obéissance est un processus complexe, non unilatéral et passablement mystérieux, qu'on ne peut réduire à de la propagande, à du 'faire croire', à de la manipulation."

the “publicity” of the visualized consensus was of greater importance than the visibility of every scene down to the very details. That is to say, he replaces the reception-analytic model with a praxeological model (cf. Veyne 1997; Flaig 1999) that not only clearly breaks away from the formal analysis and iconological methods of archaeologists, but stabs right into the “heart” of common assumptions about the role and function of images under the Roman empire. Scholars such as Settis (1992), Hölscher (1991; 2000), and Zanker (1994; 1997; 2000a) have reacted to such challenges by referring to the topical and repetitive arrangement of scenes on the column, with semi-otic constructions such as the “redundance of information” (Settis 1992) or the introduction of the figure of the “fleeting viewer” (Zanker 2000);⁵⁸ Veyne (2005: 379–418), in turn, has recently responded to these suggestions with a subtle reelaboration of his concept of Roman “official” art as a specific form of “*faste monarchique*.”

Overall, however, Veyne’s interventions have not, with notable exceptions (e.g. Huet 1996; Scheid and Huet 2000; Galinier 2007), resonated as strongly with archaeologists as one might expect, given the fundamental character of his argument.⁵⁹ Perhaps this has to do with the fact that his reflections display a certain indifference toward recent techniques and methods of visual analysis. And one could argue that the business of iconology – understood in the original, emphatic (and much contested) sense it had for Panofsky – is not discredited by the fact that it relies on tools that were not available to an ancient viewer, such as the plates of lavish publications that expose every once invisible detail of a monument to the scholarly gaze. But Veyne makes a much more important point, insofar as he demonstrates just how much current archaeological discourse is conditioned and limited by notions of “communication,” “propaganda,” and “art as medium” that are at best questionable and at worst naïve (cf. Wood 2004), especially if applied to a Roman context.

It is indeed worth noting how the problem of visibility and questions concerning the efficacy of visual “communication” have stepped so prominently into the foreground in recent years. It seems that we can do nothing

⁵⁸ It would be quite instructive, in this context, to pursue further the question of why the (entirely fictive and conjectural) figure of the “ancient viewer” has recently emerged as such a powerful trope in archaeological discourse. Perhaps one could say, in playing on Barthes’ famous dictum, that the birth of the “viewer” marks the death of some of classical archaeology’s favorite traditional paradigms, such as artist, workshop, style, and medium. In the figure of the viewer (or, rather, of different viewers producing different meanings), classical archaeology simply opens itself up to non-linear, open-ended arguments and conflicting, contradictory, and subversive readings of its objects – in other words, to the general importance of “context” and the work of deconstruction.

⁵⁹ For an attempt to read the *Forma Urbis* in the light of Veyne’s theories, see Trimble 2007: 375–84.

other than ask our own questions from within the logic of late capitalist “spectacular democracies” (Debord 1994; 1998; with Jay 1993: 416–34), in which the production and consumption of images (deceptive, concealing and alienating images, according to this interpretation), and their exchange value have moved into the center of social and economic dynamics and in which, more important, media presence, exposure, and attention have become a principal means of generating symbolic capital that can then be carried over into other realms of society (which are less and less clearly defined as such).⁶⁰ But this was clearly not – or at least not the principal – role and function of images and state monuments in Rome. The survival of Roman monarchy depended on its *liberalitas* and gift economy of favors and monuments, much less so on the efficiency of its visual communication through “state monuments.” And if it seems odd to us that Romans paid so little attention to the actual visibility of imperial art, and if monuments such as the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius do not match our modern expectations of an efficient political monument, this has much to do with our modern perspective. Roman imperial art involved an act of societal self-explanation; but it cannot be viewed as an early means of strategic mass communication, simply because the latter is inextricably linked to the existence of a mass society which has to rely on such means of communication in order to constitute its members as political and economic subjects.

The challenge lies in designing – as Veyne attempts to do – historically specific models to explain the undeniable significance and omnipresence of imperial imagery in Rome, as well as the strange paradox of an art that combines certain visual strategies to involve potential viewers with an at times total disregard for its *actual* visibility. Even though Veyne himself does not articulate all of these issues, it seems that he tries to come to terms with precisely those problems by arguing that the communicative failure of such monuments is already consciously and purposefully built into them, and that every interpretation must fall short if it does not include

⁶⁰ Symptomatic of the centrality and privilege of the communication/media paradigm to the historical explanation of cultures in the late twentieth century is Luhmann 1997, whose epochal work is explicitly based on the assumption that “die Gesellschaft ein *auf der Basis von Kommunikation operativ geschlossenes Sozialsystem* ist und dass deshalb ihre *Evolution den Problemen der Autopoiesis von Kommunikation folgt*, die ihrerseits in ihren Bedingungen durch die Evolution selbst laufend verändert werden” (205, author’s italics). Or – to take another, equally arbitrary example – in Chomsky’s (1989: 1–20; 137–80) famous “propaganda model,” the issue of control over and ownership of media is of crucial importance to “capitalist democracies” precisely because they are characterized by a “certain tension with regard to the locus of power” (vii). Quite obviously, none of this applies to the historical conditions of imperial Rome.

Bataillean notions of excess and expenditure, surplus and redundancy.⁶¹ “The expression of a superiority,” writes Veyne, “is only undoubted when it is excessive . . . pompous nonsense and set speeches are the right and the sign of the gods, oracles and masters. . . . Trajan’s Column is propaganda of a sort but not because of its imagery. It is such for its presence and for the power expressed by its redundancy” (1988: 3; 11). Veyne thus not only demonstrates that the highly formalized and personalized praise of imperial deeds and virtues at an *oculatissimus locus*⁶² could be largely independent of its actual “readability” and visibility. His argument also suggests that what may appear to us as mere “interference” and disturbance of the channel of communication is itself an important (and specifically coded) component of the communicative process, insofar as it makes palpable to the ordinary viewer that what he sees (or does not see) is indeed remote and divine, and – ultimately – beyond his human verification, understanding, or negation.⁶³ In the case of the Column of Trajan – after all, it was a funerary monument for a later deified emperor, dedicated by the senate but part of the original design of the Forum of Trajan, and quite possibly itself the symbolic equivalent of the temple of the other imperial fora – this was, of course, particularly fitting. One could add that it is also noteworthy in this context that the inscription on the base of the Column of Trajan records, of all things, “how high a mountain – and the site for such great works – had been cleared away”; yet another form of expenditure.

In any event, the discussion generated by Veyne is, in our opinion, one of the more fruitful, more fundamental, and more wide-reaching ones in Roman art history of the last twenty years.

IV. Ritual

Ritual is a complex subject with a long scholarly tradition in sociology, anthropology, and history.⁶⁴ It is easy enough to identify the defining

⁶¹ Bataille 1989: 198; cf. Veyne 2005: 390. See also our discussion of ritual, below, pp. 37–43.

⁶² For the term, see Arce (this volume).

⁶³ The interpretation of the problem of visibility attempted here applies even if we agree with the common interpretation of the reliefs on the column of Trajan as “ein ausführliches Register . . . in dem der Senat die unvergänglichen Leistungen des Kaisers und seiner Armee gleichsam für die Ewigkeit festhält, als eine Art rühmender Umsetzung und Beglaubigung der offiziellen Feldzugsberichte an den Senat, die im Staatsarchiv lagen” (Zanker 2007: 63; cf. Coarelli 1999b: 19–21; Settis 1988; 1992). Column as *piaculum*: Coarelli 1999b: 4–6; Gros 2007: 104–05.

⁶⁴ Bell 1997 offers a comprehensive overview of theories of ritual; cf. Koziol 2002 for a critical discussion of current approaches to ritual among medievalists. Leach 1968, though dated, is still worth consulting for a concise overview written by a leading practitioner.

features of ritual. Most ritual activity is collective, repetitive, formalized, and institutionalized; it normally takes place in some sort of structured space at times that are somehow marked off as special; it usually employs distinctive and specialized personnel and objects, often elaborated by particular texts or formalized modes of communication; it frequently involves the assembling of specific collectivities that may or may not be assembled for other purposes; it is always symbolic in nature.⁶⁵ Understanding what rituals do and how they do it is more difficult.

Many older theories of ritual were functionalist in approach, arguing (or assuming) that the purpose of ritual is to endow society with a collective sense of solidarity that it would otherwise lack. The primary exponent of this view is of course Durkheim, who suggested in his *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1st ed. 1912) that collective rites are necessary for defining the boundaries of the social group to which individuals belong, and that participation in these rites generates and reinforces the individual's allegiance to and dependence on that group. Durkheim's claim that individuals have a deep-seated desire for community, consensus, and social solidarity, and that these universal goods are produced and maintained through ritual, has been very influential, though few scholars writing after Durkheim have been quite so functionalist in their interpretative stances. Nor have scholars agreed on the nature of the solidarity generated by ritual. In the British social anthropological tradition, for example, ritual is often seen as a symbolic activity that simultaneously dramatizes and diffuses social conflict (Max Gluckman, Victor Turner), while other scholars (e.g. René Girard and, to a lesser extent, Walter Burkert), focusing on the psychology of the participants, view ritual as a mechanism for channeling and diffusing the human impulse to violence.⁶⁶

What all these approaches share, to varying degrees, is the assumption that societies depend on solidarity, and that ritual is uniquely capable of providing it. One major drawback to such interpretations is that they cannot really account for either ritual or social change. In addition, some critics claim that objective power relations and material conditions, rather than ritual consensus and solidarity, are what keep the sociopolitical order intact – individuals acquiesce in that order not because they believe in it, but because they have no choice – while others observe that rituals themselves are often vehicles for accentuating social divisions and even provoking social conflict. So far from producing solidarity, in other words, ritual

⁶⁵ Useful definitions of ritual activity in Kertzer 1988: 8–9; Bell 1992: 204–5; Muir 2005: 6; cf.

Beard 2007: 58–59, 265 for a Roman historian's perspective on the problem of defining "ritual."

⁶⁶ See discussion, with references, in Bell 1992: 171–77.

actually serves, according to some theorists, as a critical arena for social struggle.⁶⁷

Increased attention to ritual's role in facilitating conflict rather than consensus represents an important shift in current scholarship on ritual. Another shift, equally significant, pertains to the relationship between thought and action. The functionalism of most classic theories of ritual presupposes a dichotomy between thought and action, and subordinates the latter to the former. For Durkheim and his followers, ritual was seen as a means of representing, dramatizing, or communicating ideas and beliefs that were logically prior.⁶⁸ When Durkheim claims that ritual is a symbolic activity through which individuals project the social structure into the cosmological sphere, for example, he implicitly construes ritual action as an expression of, and therefore secondary to, the collective beliefs that, in his view, underpin the sociopolitical order in the first place.⁶⁹ But with the rise of several new approaches within the field of anthropology in the 1960s, especially semiotics and practice theory, ritual action itself has come to be seen as a primary determinant of both power relations and meaning.⁶⁹ Geertz's *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (1980) was a seminal study in this vein. Geertz argued that the rites of the Balinese state cult did not symbolize power, but were themselves a very real form of power, and further that political power was in the service of public pageantry, not the other way around. In *Negara* and in many of his celebrated essays (cf. esp. Geertz 1973), Geertz examined the ways in which rituals present participants with a symbolic model of, and for, social relations, arguing that such modeling not only makes the social order intelligible, but naturalizes and universalizes it in a manner that virtually extinguishes the potential for subversive thought and action. This approach has been very fruitful, as scholars in a range of disciplines have investigated ritual practice and the symbolics of power as central to the production and maintenance of the sociopolitical structure.⁷⁰

Royal rituals like those of Bali have been important in nearly all traditional and premodern monarchies, and ancient Rome was no exception.

⁶⁷ This is the main thesis of Kertzer 1988, esp. 102–73 on ritual as a locus for social struggle, political conflict, and revolution.

⁶⁸ As E. Shils writes, “beliefs could exist without rituals; rituals, however, could not exist without beliefs” (quoted in Bell 1992: 19).

⁶⁹ Ortner 1984 offers a lucid account of these developments.

⁷⁰ Especially relevant to this volume is Cannadine and Price 1987, a collection of essays on premodern royal ritual in which “pomp and pageantry, spectacle and splendour, are treated as an integral part of the political process and the structure of power” (12); cf. Theuvs and Nelson 2000 on late antique and early medieval ritual, with several essays on royal rituals.

The major imperial rituals in the city of Rome were the *adventus*, the triumph, and the funeral.⁷¹ The *adventus* celebrated the arrival of the emperor, and normally involved elaborate processions, speeches, honors, and gifts. In the provinces, the arrival of an emperor gave subjects a rare opportunity to interact with their monarch; in the capital city, the *adventus* confirmed Rome's status as the center of a world empire and dramatized the association between emperor and state. Always an important state ceremony, the imperial *adventus* in Rome took on even greater significance in the later empire, as administrative decentralization and the regular absence of the imperial court from the city made an emperor's appearance there a critical moment for the public affirmation of Rome's symbolic centrality.⁷² From the beginning the imperial *adventus* had assumed some of the characteristics of the triumph, the extravagant procession in Rome commemorating a major military victory over a foreign enemy. The pinnacle of aristocratic achievement and self-representation during the Republic, the triumph was almost immediately monopolized by the imperial regime, and though relatively rare during the imperial period, remained a potent expression of the core imperial ideals of victory and conquest.⁷³ An imperial funeral in Rome – for an emperor formally deified by senatorial decree (36 of the 60 emperors between AD 14 and 337) – was an equally impressive event. The ceremony began in the Forum with a public viewing of the corpse, offerings, the display of *imagines*, and a funeral oration, then moved in a long procession to the Campus Martius, where the burning of a massive funeral pyre and the flight of an eagle signaled the apotheosis of the deified emperor. Combining elements of the Republican aristocratic funeral with the symbolism of divine cult, an imperial funeral was not only a majestic statement of imperial power, but also a politically charged ceremony that simultaneously legitimated the reign of one emperor and paved the way for the smooth succession of another.⁷⁴

Both older and more recent theories of ritual can illuminate the significance of these rites and ceremonies. Imperial *adventus*, triumphs, and funerals were all staged before public gatherings of important

⁷¹ For a recent overview of imperial rituals in the city of Rome, with ample citation of primary evidence and modern scholarship, see Benoist 2005.

⁷² *Adventus*: Koeppel 1969 (especially for the iconography); MacCormack 1981: 17–89 (on the later empire); Lehen 1997; Benoist 2005: 25–101.

⁷³ Triumph: McCormick 1986: 11–34; Benoist 2005: 195–272; Beard 2007, suggesting that the triumph was a locus not only for the celebration of victory, but also for debates about the meanings of Roman militarism. For the ideology of military victory that animated the celebration of the triumph, Ando 2000: ch. 8, esp. 277–303.

⁷⁴ Funeral and *consecratio*: MacCormack 1981: 93–158; Price 1987; Arce 1988; Zanker 2004a; Benoist 2005: 103–93.

collectivities within the state and can therefore be seen as highly choreographed performances of consensus. In addition, all these rituals can be read as symbolic expressions of the most vital strands of imperial ideology, especially the centrality of Rome and the legitimacy of imperial rule. It should also be emphasized that the underlying messages of such performances and expressions were often magnified and commemorated through other media, especially panegyric and monumental art (MacCormack 1981). Yet the consensus so conspicuously displayed in these rituals can also be interpreted as a distortion of social and political reality, since these displays implicitly privileged certain entities and groups over others: the center over the periphery, the urban plebs over the other inhabitants of the empire, the élite over the masses, the imperial family over the rest of the aristocracy (especially under Augustus), etc. Such ritual activity may well have produced solidarity, then, but it was solidarity for selected segments of society only, and it served to reinforce a steep sociopolitical hierarchy. And it could also be argued that these imperial rituals did not simply express key ideals and values, but also constituted a source of imperial power in their own right. Indeed, an important part of what it meant to be an emperor was precisely the autocratic monopolization of the grand public stage of Rome through which the monarch could assert his dominance through ostentatious and “wasteful” representation.

Several of the essays in this volume investigate aspects of these and other imperial rituals and suggest fruitful topics for future research. Flaig’s essay, for example, which includes a brief discussion of Nero’s *adventus* with the Armenian king in AD 66, contends that the public celebration of imperial victory demanded by the event temporarily muffled the growing discontent with the emperor. This is a good example of how ritual activity could be used to channel popular sentiments in the service of the imperial regime. Koortbojian’s essay offers a different perspective on the relationship between ritual and power. Examining the Prima Porta statue of Augustus in the context of the formal powers and prerogatives voted to the first *princeps*, Koortbojian argues that the cuirassed statue was meant to depict Augustus not as a *triumphator*, but rather as an *imperator*, an open declaration of the emperor’s unique and unprecedented military *imperium* inside the ritual boundary of the *pomerium*. In this way the ritual meaning of crossing the *pomerium* was dissolved, a change expressed in part through visual language and emblematic of how the advent of monarchy transformed ritual practice in the city of Rome.

Arce’s essay on Roman imperial funerals *in effigie* takes a core imperial ritual as its main focus. Arce considers the funerals of Pertinax and Septimius Severus, both well documented and both somewhat unusual

because in each case, the emperor had already been buried prior to the funeral ceremony. Central themes in his essay include universality – the imperial funeral, according to Arce, derived much of its symbolic resonance from its setting in Rome and the universal associations the city evoked – and participation. Participation was both aristocratic, as the *consecratio* depended on a senatorial decree, and popular, as the funeral procession and witnessing of the *crematio* depended on the people's presence (cf. D'Ambra, this volume). The public funeral, as Arce writes, was “the social expression of a political crisis whose ceremonies also form part of a political drama in which all the people are implicated.” He also restates his claim that the eagle released from the funeral pyre did not necessarily correspond to an objective reality, but was instead a literary metaphor (or explanation) for the fact of apotheosis (cf. Arce 1988: 131–40), a useful insight into how complex rites and ceremonies can produce complex discourses on the meaning(s) of ritual action.

Theorists of ritual seeking to understand how, precisely, rituals do what they do – how, that is, a ritual can induce certain moods and dispositions in its participants – have turned to cognitive psychology for insights into how our perceptions are structured by the experience of ritual. Rituals seem to be effective, such studies indicate, because they convey information that is emotionally charged and particularly vivid in sensory terms (cf. Kertzer 1988: 82–89, 99–101). The emotional and sensory dimensions of imperial rituals in Rome are noted by several authors in this volume. Arce, for example, taking a cue from Vernant, argues that the *imago* of the deceased emperor, the *effigies*, produced “nostalgic desire” (*pothos*) in the viewer, which helps to explain why it made sense to hold a public funeral for an emperor who had already been buried (and, in the case of Septimius Severus, cremated). Zanker emphasizes the collective happiness and sense of togetherness that arose from the people's ritualistic enjoyment of the urban amenities provided by the emperor. D'Ambra draws attention to the vivid olfactory effects of a burning imperial funeral pyre, suggesting that the smells of the exotic spices and incense contained in the pyre produced the sort of “otherworldly atmosphere” that makes rituals so memorable. These observations are all worth pursuing further, and show the potential for future research on the cognitive dimension of imperial ritual in the city of Rome.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Cognitive and sensory studies are becoming more common in work on ancient religion; cf. Bendlin 2000 on religious pluralism in the Roman Republic, with good discussion of cognitive issues, and Harvey 2006 on the importance of olfactory sensation in early Christianity.

Most of the imperial rituals discussed thus far were major public events, perhaps better defined as “ceremonies.” But an important feature of recent approaches to ritual has been a more expansive view of what constitutes ritual activity. Classic theories of ritual were mostly confined to the religious sphere, but there is now greater awareness that ritual activity can be religious and secular, public and private, collective and individual. In fact, few scholars now treat rituals as discrete and autonomous activities, but instead see them as embedded in some larger framework, whether social, political, or cultural. As a result, the justification for studying “ritual” is no longer to engage in the antiquarian reconstruction of this or that rite, but rather to gain insight into some more central problem, usually related to power and social structure (the main focus of sociologists) or systems of belief and meaning (anthropologists), and with greater sensitivity to the question of change over time (historians).⁷⁶ As Koziol puts it, students of ritual “are interested in power, in the construction of collectivities, and in the dynamic between individuals and collectivity. They are interested in meaning, its production and reproduction” (2002: 387).

These are complex issues, to be sure, and a comprehensive analysis along these lines is beyond the scope of any one essay in this volume, but Zanker’s study illustrates one possible approach. Through his analysis of public spaces built by the emperor and the collective, repetitive, symbolic, and often institutionalized activities that took place in them – ritual activities, in a word – Zanker is able to reconstruct the contours of daily experience in the city of Rome, all without explicitly addressing the question of ritual as such, and by considering the specific ways in which the urban citizenry engaged with high culture and experienced itself as a community in these spaces, made possible by the imperial benefactions that both expressed the emperor’s personal generosity and helped to legitimate his rule, he sheds much light precisely on the nexus of power, the individual/society dynamic, and the production of meaning in imperial Rome. These were the sorts of underlying questions that inspired this volume in the first place, and it is our hope that this essay, and indeed the volume as a whole, will help to encourage further work in this direction.

⁷⁶ This disciplinary division is overly schematic, of course, but it does reflect some of the continuous preoccupations of these fields; see discussion in Cannadine and Price 1987: 4–6, 14.

*“Popular” architecture in Rome**

PAUL ZANKER

With a statue on the façade of the Glyptothek in Munich, Ludwig I of Bavaria honored the Roman emperor Hadrian as the patron of art *par excellence*. Hadrian stands there, arrayed in the cuirass of the classical *Panzerstatue*, together with Pericles and surrounded by the most famous of sculptors, whose ranks stretch from classical antiquity to include contemporaries of the king. These two ancient patrons were the admired models of Ludwig I who, in his capacity as patron of architecture, sought to make his royal residence a “new Athens” through a massive building program, and who – following his ancient exemplars – regarded himself as the “inspirer and promoter of a revived German art.” In a once famous painting by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, “he descends, surrounded by artists and scholars, from the throne to view the works of art that have been brought to him” – as formulated in the official title of this design (see fig. 2.1), which figured as one of the frescoes “Neue Pinakothek Ludwig I” before these were destroyed during World War II.¹ Enthused artists, representatives of all the various media, pay homage to the monarch with the works that they have brought to the foot of his throne. Behind the king the façade of the Glyptothek appears as a symbol of resurrected Greek antiquity. I begin with this not particularly pleasing product of Munich court art because it displays, with an almost caricature-like clarity, the modern conception of the patron of art, a conception which was, in turn, also applied to the Roman emperors. The prince-connoisseur attends personally to the artists, who venerate him like a higher being; he

* Editors’ note: this chapter first appeared in 1997 as *Der Kaiser baut fürs Volk*. It is offered here in English translation for the first time, with bibliographic updates added by the editors (in square brackets). This study reflects Zanker’s growing interest in the dynamic interaction between specific places and the images encountered in them (*Bildräume*) (e.g., 2000a, 2000b, 2002b), and in the performative aspects of the emperor’s presence in the city of Rome (e.g., 2002b, 2004a). Here Zanker explores the interplay between architecture, images, communications, the rhythms of daily life, collective experience, and political power, all with a view to elucidating the symbolic and ideologically charged relationship between the emperor and the urban plebs, as it played out in the empire’s capital city (for more detail, see ch. 1). Sitting at the intersection of most of the key themes developed in the chapters that follow, then, Zanker’s essay sets the agenda for the volume as a whole.

¹ Eschenburg 1984: 219–21. On the Glyptothek, see Vierneisel and Leinz 1980.

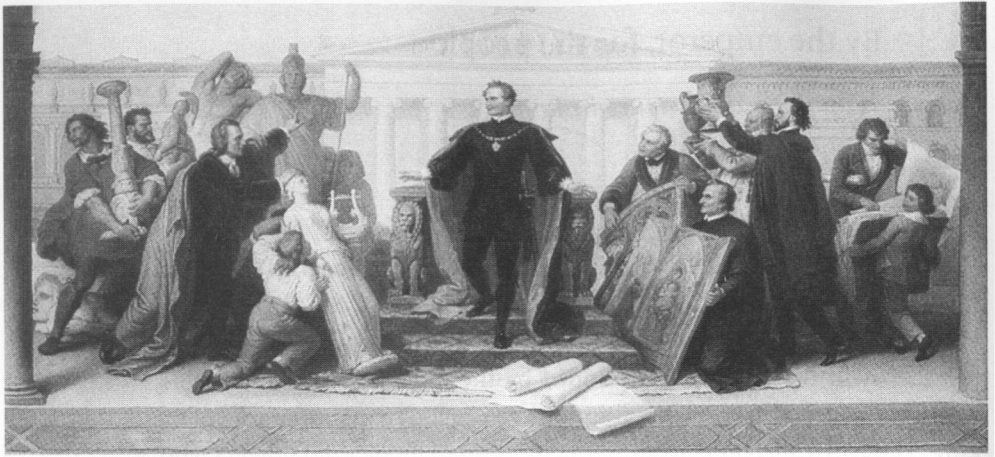


Fig. 2.1 Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Ludwig I with artists*. Munich, Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

commissions work from them and judges it with a superior understanding of art; he recognizes and encourages the great geniuses – and in all these ways creates monuments to his own immortality.

In reality, these modern stereotypes of patronage differ fundamentally from everything that the Roman emperors undertook as patrons. For, in contrast to the situation of the modern artist, Roman architects and artists did not share in the fame of their imperial patrons. Apart from a few, chance exceptions, we do not even know their names; it is unthinkable that they would have been honored by the emperor with a statue. The Roman emperors did not patronize artists and the arts. Rather, they acted in a wider sense as benefactors of their subjects. As such, they saw to the people's every need and delight, above all in Rome itself, from distributions of grain and money to the construction of public buildings and the organization of games. Paul Veyne has therefore characterized Augustus as "patron of the Romans."² In Roman antiquity, almost everything that concerned what we would call the patronage of art and culture took place within the framework of imperial *liberalitas* and *munificentia* (generosity and munificence).³ The artists, artisans, and architects of imperial cultural projects did not acquire special status – they were the ruler's assistants, like all the others involved in his great enterprises.

² Veyne 1976; abridged German edition, Munich, 1984.

³ Kloft 1970, 1987; Manning 1985; cf. Strong 1968: 97.

The slogan *panem et circenses* strikes an off-note in our ears. One envisions a lazy urban mob fed by the state, pacified by cynical rulers and thus distracted from political affairs. This conception is perhaps not entirely false; but it represents at best only one side of the phenomenon. There would have been easier methods for keeping the resident masses in check: one need only think of the praetorian guard, whose headquarters lay as an omnipresent threat at the edge of the city. For most Romans, work was a matter of necessity, even if they were on the list of the some 200,000 recipients of the state-funded distributions of grain. Among these also counted the many masons who were charged with building the emperor's great structures which form the subject of this essay.⁴

Stimulated by the questions about the different forms of cultural patronage posed by the Gerda Henkel Foundation, I have reflected whether certain areas of imperial *liberalitas*, namely public buildings for the Roman people and the arrangement and holding of games, might not also be understood as a form of cultural patronage – the patronage of a culture of leisure and entertainment for the masses. The result of my deliberations is, as will be seen, ambiguous. The cultural patronage of the Roman emperors – or, better put, the emperor's organization of pleasurable activities for the people – differs fundamentally from the types of patronage and cultural politics familiar to us. Roman imperial cultural patronage corresponded to the ruler's duty to exercise the virtue of *liberalitas*, and was firmly anchored in the political system of the Principate. The maintenance of cultic traditions and of the classical cultural inheritance as well as the representation and veneration of imperial power were thereby inextricably intertwined. The emperor created a solemn but charged world of experience in which the citizenry of Rome could experience itself in different ways as a community. This essay seeks to elucidate this phenomenon.

As an archaeologist, my main focus here will be on the grand structures built for the Romans and their various functions within the framework of imperial *liberalitas*. The emperors, it is true, did not build exclusively in Rome, but across the entire Roman empire. The types of building projects in Rome, however, differed from those in the cities of the Italian peninsula and the provinces. Outside Rome, the emperors assisted primarily in the construction of city walls, streets, and water and sewage systems – that is, in the area of infrastructure – while the definition of the inner physical form of

⁴ An overview of imperial building activity and of the little that we know about its organization can now be found in the very useful compendium by Kolb 1995.

a city was left either to the cities themselves or to local benefactors.⁵ In Rome, by contrast, the emperors acted themselves as patrons and benefactors. In Rome, they did not tolerate competition. The grandiose structures built for the people of Rome consumed by far the largest sums of money. These buildings were aimed above all at the organization of three spheres of leisure and entertainment for the *plebs urbana*: (i) public promenades in porticoes, (ii) baths, and (iii) games. I offer first an overview of these “popular” buildings.⁶ Here I am concerned less with the individual buildings than with the specific implementation of imperial *liberalitas* in this sphere. I must of necessity limit myself to but a few aspects.

I. Promenades for city dwellers

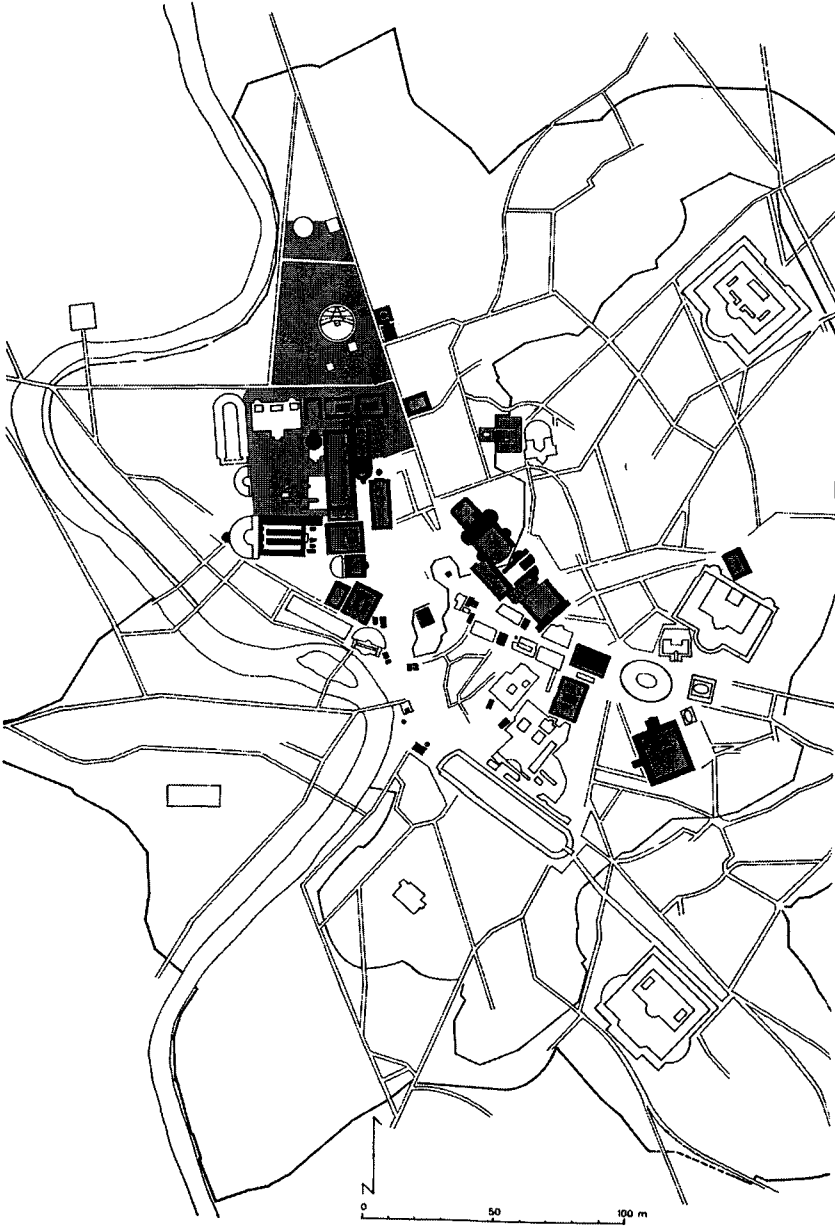
One might at first doubt whether the many public porticoes, so characteristic of the urban center of Rome, can be labeled offhand as structures built for the people, for the majority of them belong either to the imperial fora or to the sanctuaries and theaters of the Campus Martius. However, we know from the ancient authors that these porticoes served, independent of the primary function of the building complex to which they belonged, as spaces for public promenades, and that they were intended by their builders to fulfill this very purpose. As such, they formed a massive system of sumptuously decorated, covered spaces that ran through all the central areas of public life in the city and were universally accessible (map 2.1).

The first of these porticoes had been erected, beginning in the second century BC, by victorious generals as “victory sanctuaries.” With these structures, the generals sought to provide the citizens of Rome with something akin to the much-admired urbanity of Hellenistic civic culture while simultaneously giving them their share of the war booty. The finest of these porticoes were built by Greek architects in the most modern Hellenistic style. The Greek character of these structures as well as their artful and sumptuous decoration – including artworks seized from the conquered enemy, a typical element of the later “popular” buildings constructed by the emperors – had thus already found a first formulation.⁷

⁵ Kienast 1982: 336 ff.; Horster 1995 [= Horster 1997]. I wish to thank Werner Eck for the reference to this valuable collection of sources and for facilitating my viewing of it.

⁶ For the literature on the individual monuments, see *LTUR*; L. Richardson 1992; Platner and Ashby 1929; Nash 1961–62 [and see now Claridge 1998; Coarelli 2008].

⁷ Gros 1978; Coarelli 1977.



Map 2.1 Imperial Rome: porticoes and sanctuaries.

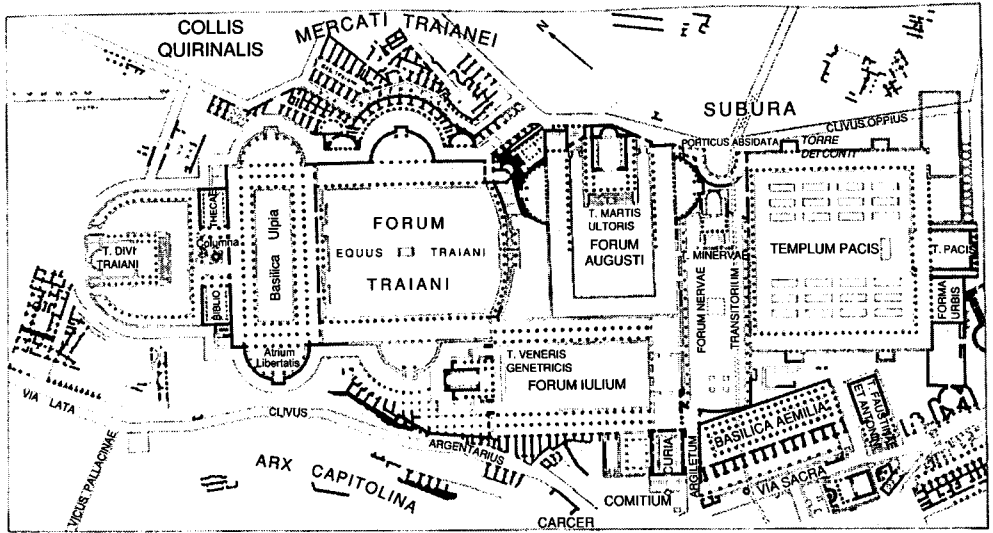


Fig. 2.2 Rome, plan of Imperial Fora.

The emperors renovated and expanded these older structures and, on the Campus Martius, added new porticoes to them, several hundred meters in length. The halls and exedrae of the imperial fora, for their part, also stand in this Republican tradition (figs. 2.2, 2.3, 2.4).⁸ Both Caesar and Augustus sought explicitly to create with their new fora not only sanctuaries and stages for state ceremonies, but also much-needed public spaces that could serve multiple functions. On an everyday level, the porticoes and exedrae of the imperial fora were intended above all to accommodate legal and administrative activity. The fora of Augustus and Trajan, moreover, became in time centers of intellectual life through the various types of lectures held there. In contrast, the Forum of Caesar accommodated, like the Forum Romanum, the bankers' branches. To these must also be added the spate of ephemeral state ceremonies and displays of power, about which we unfortunately know so little.

It is difficult for us to imagine what it meant for social communication that all these activities, including the fundamental ones of administration and justice, took place not in closed spaces or administrative buildings as they do today, but rather in the open and universally accessible porticoes in which each activity could be partitioned off from the others only in a

⁸ For an overview of the Imperial Fora and further bibliography, see La Rocca 1995. [See also La Rocca 2001 and Meneghini and Valenzani 2007 for comprehensive discussions of the recent excavations in the monumental city center, including a new plan of the imperial fora.]

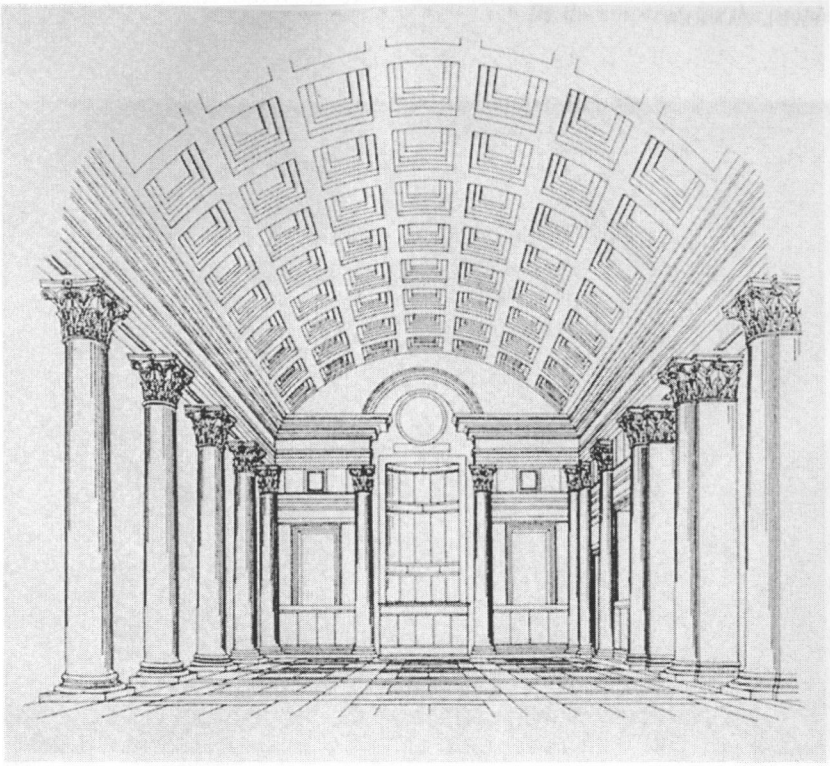


Fig. 2.3 Forum of Augustus, southeast porticus. Reconstruction drawing (H. Bauer 1988).



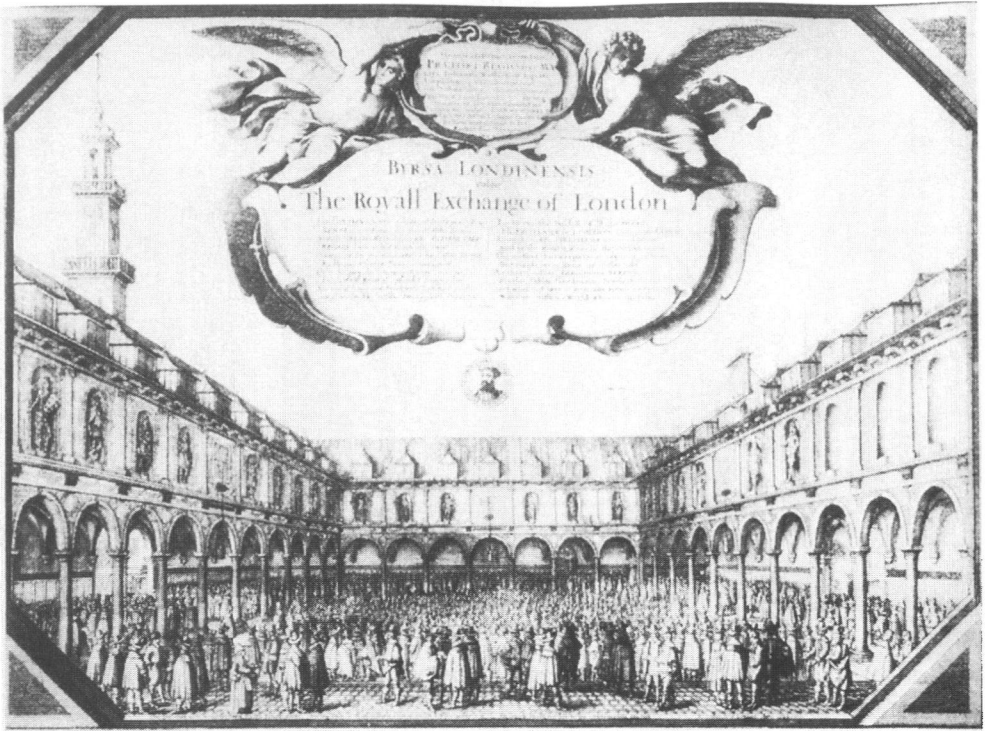


Fig. 2.5 London, Royal Exchange. Engraving by W. Hollar 1644.

makeshift way, by means of curtains.⁹ This not only encouraged gossip. It also engendered a remarkable “closeness to the people” (*Bürger Nähe*) of both power and the courts. Indeed, the emperor himself presided over the courts in full public view for hours at a time. On the model of Republican Rome, the imperial fora were sites where not only religion and politics but also the administration of justice, education, and cultural activities of all kinds could become objects of diversion for city dwellers. We must imagine these spaces filled with both small and large groups of visitors: those hurrying to keep an appointment, others looking for an acquaintance, and still others idly standing by, observing. An engraving of the Royal Exchange in London from 1644 (fig. 2.5) may help call such images to mind.

The range of experience provided by the porticoed spaces in the Campus Martius (fig. 2.6) differed from that in the Imperial Fora of Augustus

⁹ Compare, for instance, the *palatium* in the mosaics of Sant’Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna: Deichmann 1958, pl: 107.

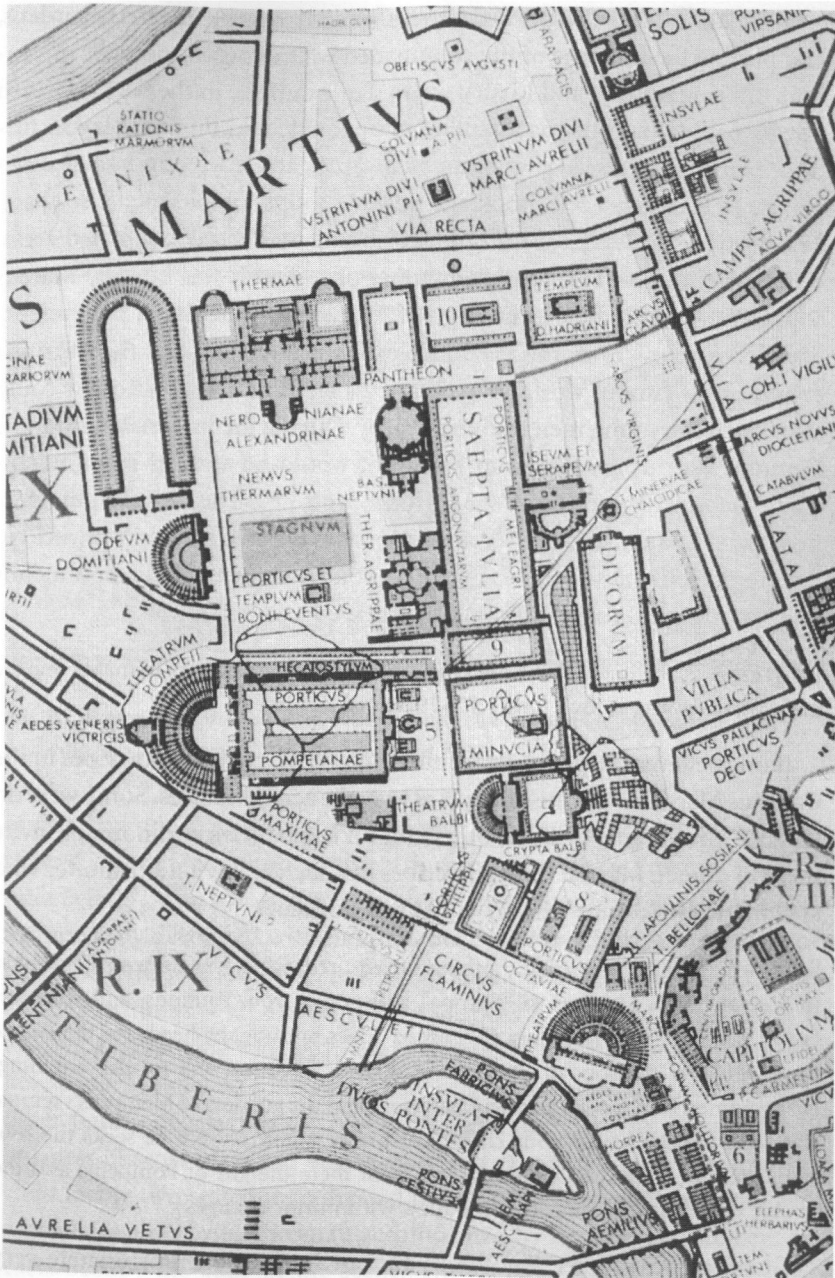


Fig. 2.6 Western Campus Martius (F. Scagnetti 1979).

and Trajan.¹⁰ Here the porticoes were located next to theaters, gardens, and playing fields. Some of the colonnaded walks housed the stalls of vendors offering upscale and luxury wares. For example, in the *Saepta*, which Caesar had earlier built as a polling place, one could purchase lavish furniture, drinking vessels, jewelry, small bronzes, and fine, long-haired slaves (Mart. 10.80, 2.57, 9.59). Book and antique shops were located elsewhere. The Porticus Vipsania (or Europa), bordering on densely populated areas, was subject to particularly high volumes of traffic. It was built by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa during the reign of Augustus on the site of the present-day Corso across from the Piazza Colonna; it was here, too, that Agrippa exhibited his famous world map (Mart. 2.14). From the portico one could also watch the young men training nearby. During the imperial period, the Campus Martius continued to be full of would-be athletes running laps along the Aqua Virgo (Mart. 7.32; Hor. *Carm.* 1.8). The visitor to the porticoes of the Sanctuary of Isis was transported into the mysterious world of Egypt and could at the same time meet young women. Ovid recommends these porticoes to readers seeking an erotic adventure:

Don't miss . . . the linen-clad heifer-goddess's Memphian temple: Io makes many a maid what *she* was to Jove. (*Ars* 1.77–79, transl. P. Green)

If one believes the poets, above all Ovid and Martial, the porticoes in the Campus Martius were the ideal place to make acquaintances. Some were on the lookout for girls or boys, others for an acquaintance who might invite them to dinner. Martial (2.14) describes just such an invitation-hunter who systematically “combs” the series of great porticoes:

Selius leaves nothing untried, nothing unventured, whenever he sees that he has to dine at home. He runs to “Europa” and praises you, Paulinus, and your feet fast as Achilles’ – interminably. If “Europa” does nothing, he heads for the *Saepta* to see whether the sons of Philyra and the son of Aeson will furnish anything. Disappointed here too, he goes and hangs around the goddess of Memphis’s temple and seats himself beside your chairs, sorrowful heifer. Thence he seeks the roof supported by a hundred columns, and from there the gift of Pompeius and the double wood. (transl. Shackleton Bailey, with minor changes)

Genre scenes of everyday life in ancient Rome are unfortunately very rare. If only we archaeologists had a source as rich as eighteenth-century Venetian genre painting with its many images of life in the squares and streets of the city! There is, at any rate, one exception. In the eighteenth

¹⁰ On the buildings in the Campus Martius, see F. Coarelli’s forthcoming monograph [= Coarelli 1997; for the Augustan Campus Martius, see also Haselberger 2007: 36–39, 100–27, 238–43].

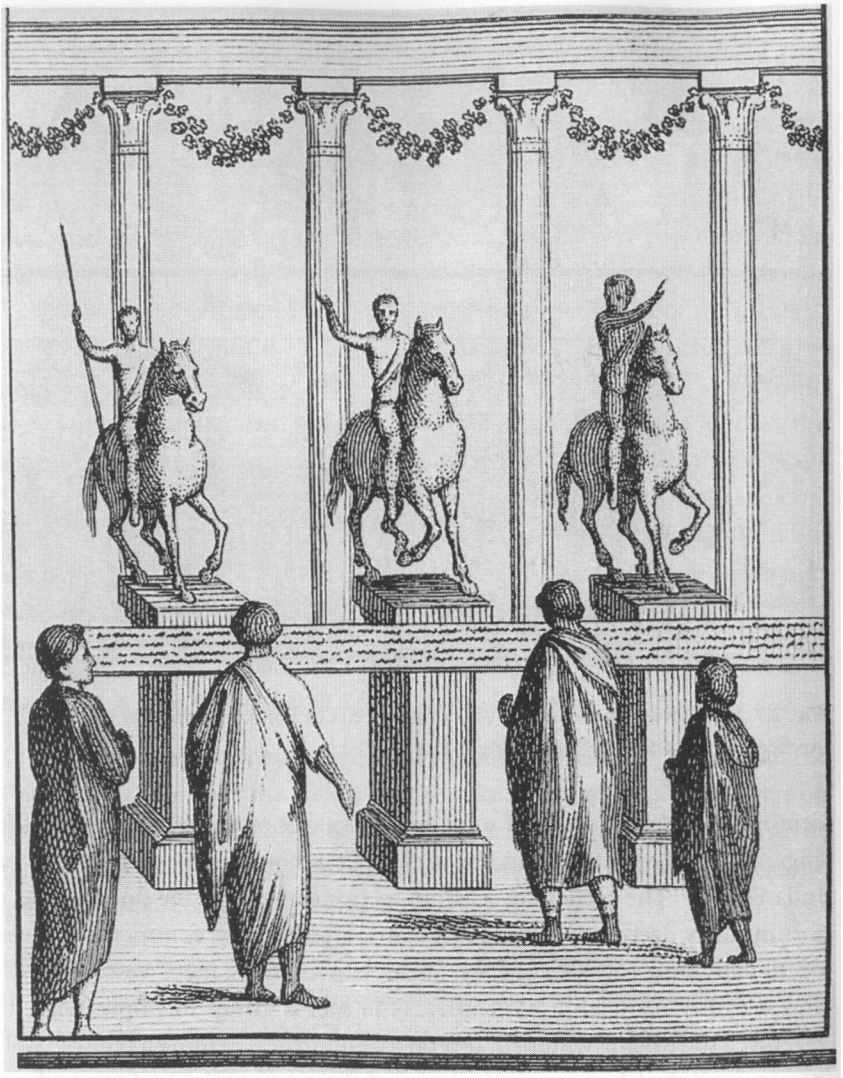


Fig. 2.8 Fresco from the so-called Villa of Julia Felix in Pompeii, presently in Museo Archeologico Nazionale Naples. Engraving of 1762.

present in the background: they function as a universally applicable sign for the “public sphere.” In this regard, it is remarkable how often the painters depicted observers and listeners around the individual groups of figures.

From the poets one gets the impression that the public in the porticoes of the Campus Martius consisted largely of idlers, well-to-do merchants and their “spongers,” theater-goers, and imposters. As a comparison, one might cite the great shopping arcades of the nineteenth century, with their cafés

and restaurants, and the new social type – the flâneurs – who frequented them. It was in this context that the bourgeoisie for the first time made shopping a culturally charged form of free-time activity.¹² In contrast to the porticoes of ancient Rome, however, the arcades were fully secularized and non-political spaces in which the members of the Third Estate mingled among themselves, as at the opera.

As experiential spaces for the urban population, the porticoes in the Imperial Fora, on the Campus Martius, and in the Subura, formed – not least on account of their construction and decoration – a unity. Undecorated walls closed off the porticoes from the immediately surrounding residential areas, as was later the case with imposing mosques. Whoever entered such architectural complexes from the hustle and bustle of the noisy streets encountered a different world. Ceremonial entrances marked transitional spaces, such as, for instance, the one mediating between the poorer residential areas behind the Forum of Augustus and the lower-lying complex housing the Temple of Mars and a series of broad porticoes. Wherever the eye wandered in such complexes, it was met by Greek-inspired arrangements of artfully worked architectural members, all in fine marble, that with time became more and more colorful and sumptuous. It is difficult to imagine the effect of these colorful architectural features in marble, for in most cases only the brick walls of such complexes, stripped bare of their original decoration, have survived. The Pantheon alone still offers us some idea of their original splendor (fig. 2.9).

Proceeding from false notions about the tasks and nature of “scholarship,” archaeologists and architectural historians today largely avoid drawing up hypothetical spatial and architectural perspectives because this would require that they reconstruct unknown architectural features. This has resulted in a regrettable dissipation of scholarly powers of imagination. Fortunately, scholars in all disciplines have begun to recognize that history cannot be written without such imaginative aids. Until this trend takes root in archaeology, one can make recourse to the splendid reconstructions of these complexes drawn by young French architects during their one-year stays in Rome as *pensionnaires* and *envois* (fig. 2.10).¹³

The various structures were in themselves closed architectural complexes – there was no through traffic. However, there seem occasionally to have been passages from one complex of porticoes to the next. This is

¹² On nineteenth-century shopping galleries, see Geist 1969.

¹³ Roma Antiqua. *Envois des architectes français (1788–1924)*. Forum, Colisée, Palatin, exh. cat. (Rome and Paris, 1985–86); Roma Antiqua. “Envois” degli architetti francesi (1786–1901) *Grandi edifici pubblici*, exh. cat. (Rome, 1992).

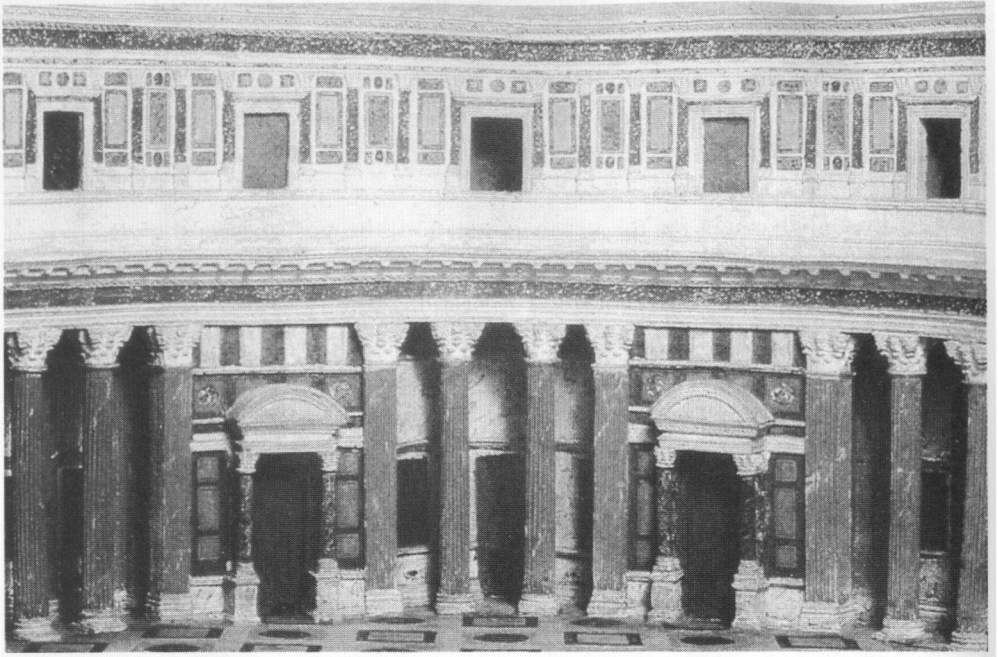


Fig. 2.9 Interior of the Pantheon after a cork model by C. May (1792/1811) in Pompeianum in Aschaffenburg. The model gives a very good idea of the original interior of the Pantheon.

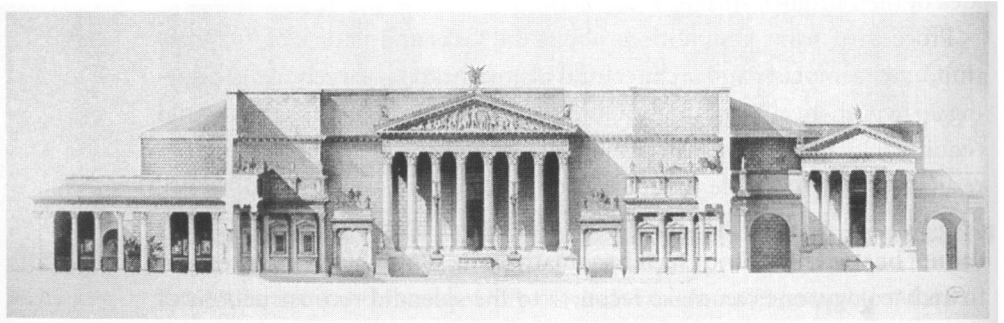


Fig. 2.10 Reconstruction drawing of the Forum of Augustus, cross-section (L. Noguet 1868/69).

suggested, for instance, by the arch with three openings on the Forma Urbis, which enabled one to move between the Porticus of Meleager on the east side of the Saepta and the Serapeion in the Sanctuary of Isis (see fig. 2.6) (Carettoni *et al.* 1960: 98). Each complex had its own imagery and corpus of inscriptions, which identified particular patrons, and its own unique

atmosphere. The coexistence of these complexes could thus also be experienced as the coexistence of different loci, each site containing within itself a particular set of historical memories. This encouraged comparison – comparison, for example, between the “earlier” triumphators and the “present-day” emperors, though, as we will see, the “present” always proved to be more splendid and, at the very least, greater. One need only compare the dimensions of Trajan’s Forum to those of the Forum of Augustus and those of a late Republican portico.

Alongside political images, and on the model of the buildings erected by the triumphant generals of the late Republic, the emperors exhibited in their porticoes and the temples associated with them famous Greek artworks, statues, and paintings, as well as booty and trophies captured in war.¹⁴ Several porticoes, such as the Portico of Europa, the Portico of the Argonauts, the Portico of Meleager, and the Portico of the Nations, were named by the people of Rome after the works of art exhibited in them. As these doubtlessly popular nicknames suggest, these artworks were perceived not only in a highly conscious manner, but also as the fundamental component of the decoration of such architectural complexes. Vespasian’s Templum Pacis, whose plan is preserved on the Forma Urbis and whose spatial disposition may be visualized with the help of a modest reconstruction (fig. 2.11), offers a good example. With its fountains and flowerbeds the Forum Pacis was a tranquil place for rest and relaxation in a manner similar to the Portico of Pompey located behind the latter’s great theater on the Campus Martius or the Portico of Livia in the densely populated Subura. As in these models, Vespasian also used the porticoes of his forum, with their many niches and exedrae, as exhibition spaces.¹⁵ Even in this pleasing complex, the aesthetic display was not without political connotations, for among the pieces figured both famous works of art from the Domus Aurea and spoils from the Temple in Jerusalem. Through their many art treasures, such complexes acquired, in addition, cultural nobility and pretensions. But it is precisely a comparison such as this, namely one predicated on what we consider museums and museum-like display to be, that points up the different function of the statues and images in the porticoes. They were above all sumptuous *ornamenta* that lent dignity and splendor both to spaces and to the life and activities playing out within those spaces; at the same time, they were also intended to memorialize their patrons and their deeds. One might cite as an analogy to these Roman *ornamenta* the function of collections of

¹⁴ On the decoration of porticoes, see Pape 1975.

¹⁵ Stucky 1986 [cf. La Rocca 2001: 195–207; *LTUR* 4: 67–70 (Coarelli)].

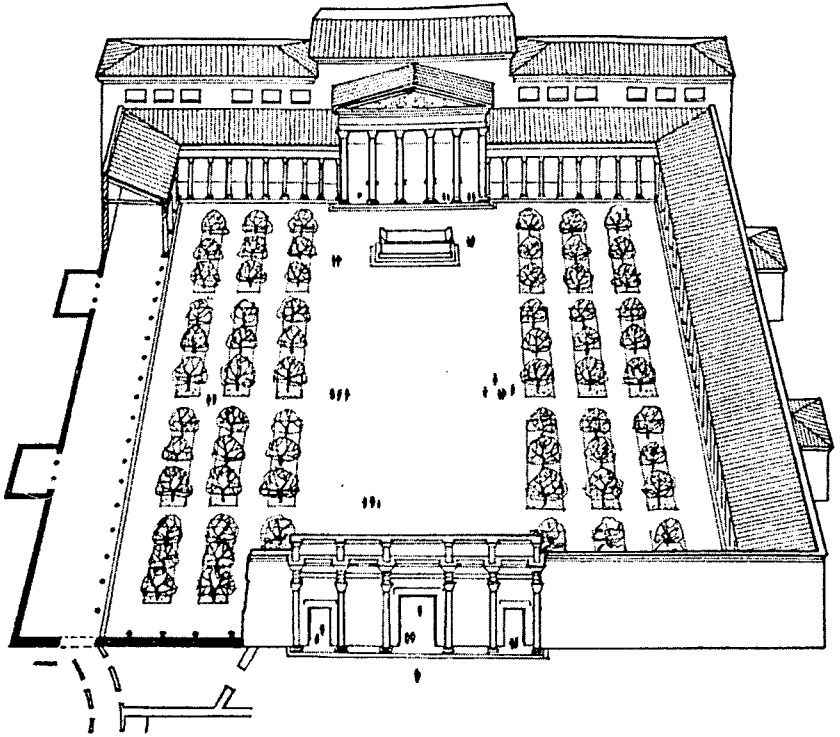


Fig. 2.11 Forum Pacis ("Forum of Vespasian") after Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970.

antiquities in European castles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where aesthetic enjoyment was likewise bound up inextricably with princely self-representation and a commitment to the classical tradition.

With porticoes, then, the emperors made public life – from politics and the administration of justice to shopping centers – an object of diversion and pleasure for the urban population. The particular architectural form and the works of art displayed in the porticoes thematized the people's participation in Greek culture. In the porticoes, the emperor also offered the Roman citizenry a share in those things that earlier had been reserved for the rich and their villas. The treasures and sumptuous building materials brought to Rome from all regions of the empire and the farthest reaches of the world demonstrated that Rome, through the deeds of the emperors, had become the center of the world, which engendered in the citizenry proud feelings of worldly dominion. As Josephus writes with regard to Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*, "indeed, into that shrine were accumulated and stored all objects for the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world,

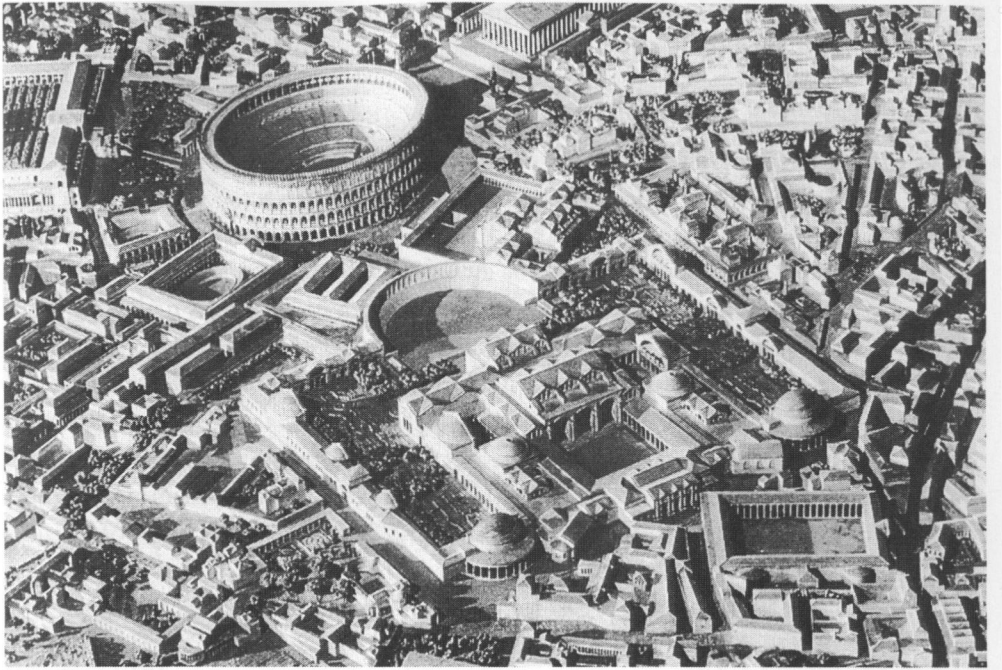


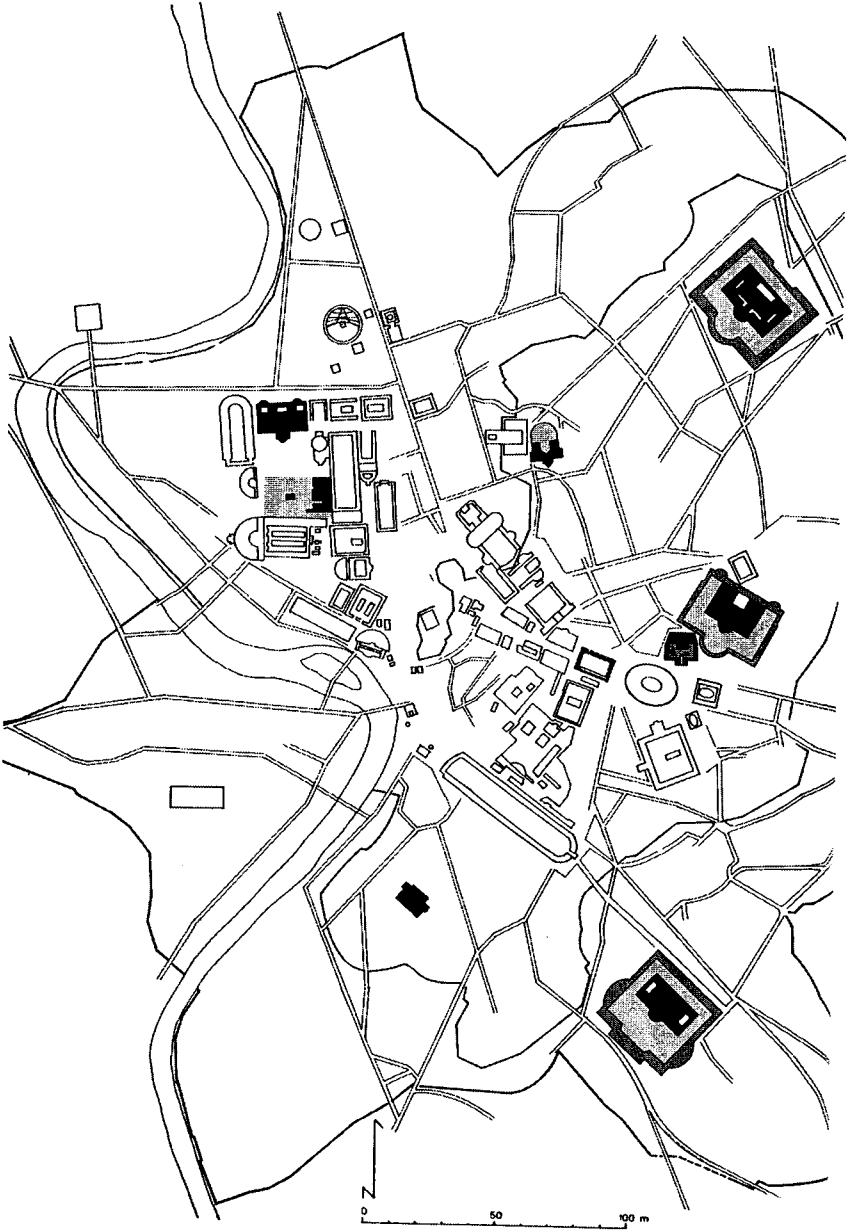
Fig. 2.12 Baths of Trajan and Colosseum. Model in Museo della Civiltà Romana.

eager to see them severally while they lay in various countries” (*BJ* 7.160, transl. Thackeray). One can also, in turn, apply Josephus’ sentence to the other porticoes: the world’s treasures were brought together in Rome.

II. The imperial baths

We now come to the public baths funded by the emperor.¹⁶ As with the Imperial Fora, the increase in scale of the imperial baths from project to project is astonishing. If the earlier baths of Agrippa, Nero, and Titus had been comparatively straightforward complexes, Trajan attained an entirely new dimension with the “bathing landscape” that he had built over a portion of the demolished Domus Aurea of Nero, “dimension” referring here not merely to the surface area covered by the complex (fig. 2.12). The actual bathing block in the center of the massive compound represents only a part of a much larger whole. The baths were surrounded by a green area

¹⁶ Bath-buildings: Nielsen 1990; Yegül 1992: 128 ff.; Meusel 1960 [cf. Fagan 1999, esp. ch. 5 on bath benefactors in Rome].



Map 2.2 Rome, imperial baths.

with gardens and playing fields and the complex itself was contained by a “frame” of tall buildings along the perimeter, and thus closed off from the densely populated area of Subura. This new building type was extremely successful. Caracalla and Diocletian had their baths built in imitation of Trajan’s complex, with each successive project outdoing its forerunner in both scale and the complexity of its furnishing and decoration. The Baths of Diocletian ultimately covered an area of 136,000 m² and are believed to have accommodated up to 3,200 visitors at any one time.¹⁷ They were thus larger than a middle-sized provincial city such as Timgad, a veterans’ colony in North Africa, which covered an area of only 112,000 m². The imperial baths, shaded on the map (map 2.2), were not used primarily for cleansing oneself. Rather, washing took place either in the many small *balnea* in scattered locations throughout the city or in private baths. A late-antique regional census indicates that at that time there were 956 such *balnea*. In contrast to these (as a rule) small establishments, the imperial baths were centers of leisure-time activity in which one could linger for hours on end.¹⁸

A map illustrates that the emperors positioned these monumental buildings throughout the entire city (map 2.2, fig. 2.6, 12). In the case of the Baths of Trajan and Diocletian, we know that these complexes either bordered on or were located in the middle of densely populated residential areas. The baths were meeting places for citizens who, although in a loose sense neighbors, belonged for all intents and purposes to the different social strata that comprised the plebeian class. Through communal bathing, bathers experienced “community” in a most elementary form: they were all more or less naked and preoccupied with their bodies. Certainly, this does not mean that one could no longer determine their social status. As in outdoor public spaces, one appeared at the baths with one’s servants and clients – provided one had servants and a clientele. Officials and even the emperors, in a highly demonstrative fashion, occasionally visited the baths in order to prove their *civilitas*. It is difficult to imagine how Hadrian, when passing before a naked veteran using the wall to scrub his back, received the veteran’s complaint that his pension was so minuscule that he was unable to afford a slave and was thus forced to wash his back by himself (*SHA Had.* 17.6) (fig. 2.13) (Merten 1983).

The emperors organized their visits to the baths as “community experiences” and in so doing created a new type of publicity. There were multiple and different possibilities for encounters in the constricted spaces of the hot rooms and in the large halls of the bathing complexes. On the one hand, the

¹⁷ Kolb 1995: 568–76; Meusel 1960 [cf. *LTUR* 5: 53–58 (Candilio)].



Fig. 2.13 Imperial visit at the Baths of Diocletian, reconstruction by E. Paulin c. 1890.

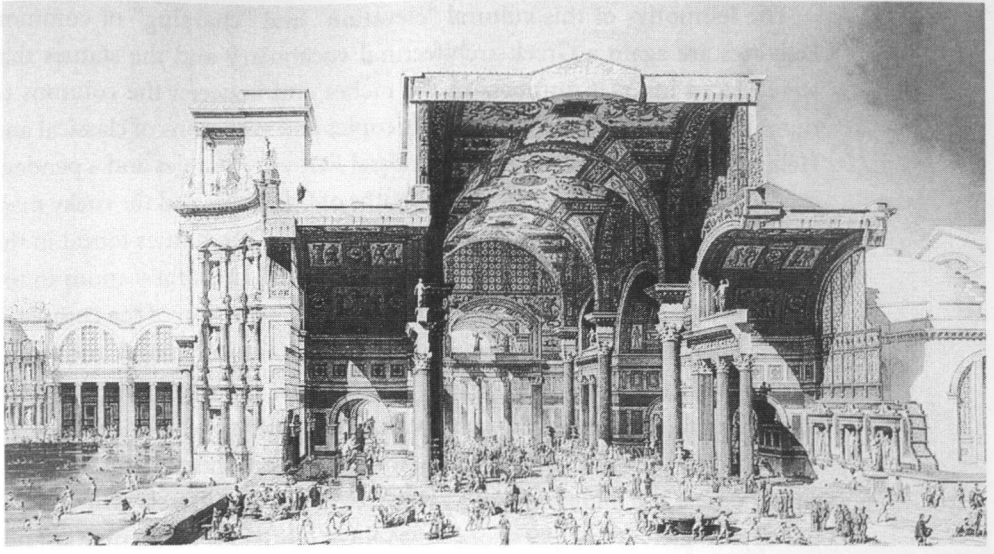


Fig. 2.14 Baths of Diocletian, reconstruction by E. Paulin (1885).

use of the baths, particularly the “changing rooms” and the hot rooms, was, on a logistical level, superbly organized. Especially in the latter rooms the visitor had no other choice than to follow the order of the various spaces. The large central halls, swimming pools, courtyards, and gardens, on the other hand, offered ample space for free movement and thus also for chance, uncontrollable encounters. The interaction between freedom of movement and the strict ordering of movement reflects, in a highly paradigmatic way, the principles of social order in the imperial period.

The numerous corridors, cryptoporticoes, lecture halls, foyers, theater-like exedrae, and libraries that surrounded the central bathing block had little to do with the actual business of bathing. They were, as far as one can judge in view of the lack of literary sources, largely intended for intellectual activities. Through these additional spaces and their decoration, the emperors consciously positioned the business of bathing in the tradition of the Greek gymnasium and presented it as an institution of classical *paideia*. With the baths, then, we also find a form of cultural “elevation” similar to the porticoes in the Campus Martius and the Imperial Fora, with the difference that the great bathing halls and the walls of the swimming pools (*natationes*) far outdid everything that had come before them in their elaborate furnishings and decoration (fig. 2.14). The magnificence of the vaults and the luxuriousness of the marbles even surpassed the Aula Iovis in Domitian’s Domus Flavia on the Palatine Hill.

The leitmotifs of this cultural “elevation” and “charging” of common activities are again a Greek architectural vocabulary and the statues that were placed in great numbers in the niches and between the columns of the various rooms. These were mostly copies and variations of classical and Hellenistic masterpieces. Thus the colossal Farnese Hercules and a pendant statue flanked the Frigidarium in the Baths of Caracalla, and the rocky mass of the Farnese Bull stood in one of the *palaestrae*. The statues found in the sixteenth century in the Baths of Caracalla still fill the largest room in the National Museum of Naples, and represent only a portion of the complex’s original decoration.¹⁹ The presentation of the canonical images and values of classical culture in their various aspects was, therefore, also a central concern of the patrons of the great bathing complexes.

Visitors to the baths, at any rate, saw the nudity of the classical statues of gods, heroes, and athletes from a perspective entirely different from that of the city dwellers in the porticoes. Several very different associative strands can be discerned here. On the one hand, the perfect classical bodies could function as models of health and fitness for those bathers preoccupied with their own, naked bodies. On the other hand, a conspicuously high number of statues of Venus, Charites, and Nereids, with their lascivious companions, have been found in Roman baths. The evocation of erotic associations was doubtless a fundamental function of the imagery in the various rooms of the baths.²⁰ Nonetheless, we are not dealing in this instance with fully “secularized” spaces. Roman citizens in the imperial period were, much like we are today, unendingly concerned about their bodies. The fact that statues of the healing gods of health Asclepius and Hygieia, as well as nymphs, figure quite frequently among the statues found in the wet rooms of the bathing complexes indicates that visitors to the baths felt particularly close to these figures. In the baths, furthermore, statues of the gods remained precisely that: sacred images.

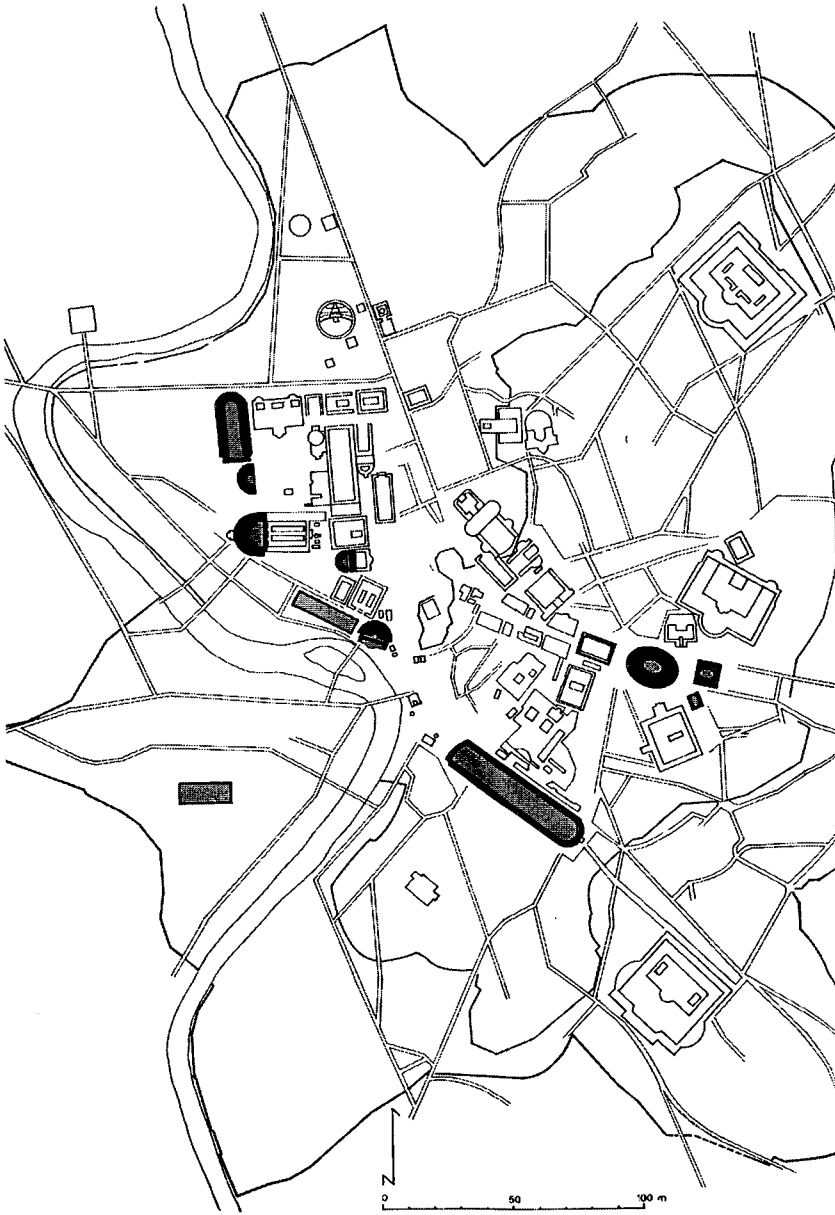
III. Buildings for the games

We come, finally, to the buildings erected for the games. Here we must also ask how the emperors defined and presented entertainment and diversions for the masses with their buildings (map 2.3).²¹ The first, most conspicuous

¹⁹ Manderscheid 1981; Marvin 1983; Gasparri 1983–84 [cf. *LTUR* 5: 42–48 (Piranomonte)].

²⁰ See discussion by R. Neudecker in *Gnomon* 57 (1985), 171 ff.

²¹ On *realia*, see the still unsurpassed work by Friedländer 1922: 2.1–126; see also André 1994: 203 ff.; Kolb 1995: 587 ff.. For a comprehensive treatment with many illustrations, see Weeber 1994.



Map 2.3 Imperial Rome: buildings for games and theatrical performances.

aspect is that the emperors' building activity was concentrated on the sites associated with the most popular displays and spectacles, such as the Circus Maximus, where the chariot races were held, and the Colosseum, where gladiatorial contests, animal hunts, and executions of those individuals condemned *ad bestias* were staged. To these must be added Augustus' *Nau-machia* in present-day Trastevere, the Circus of Caligula and Nero in the area of the Vatican, as well as the large Stadium with Odeon (Piazza Navona) that Domitian had built for competitions in Greek athletics and music (which, however, never became truly popular in Rome). By contrast, the three "classical" theaters, already built by the reign of Augustus (the theaters of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus), sufficed for the entire imperial period. Clearly, interest in the more refined enjoyments on offer at the theater did not increase.

In these areas of popular culture, therefore, the emperors consistently focused their architectural politics on the goal of providing precisely those sites where the most popular games took place with purpose-built buildings of suitable magnificence and pomp. In this respect, we must bear in mind that in Republican times the Circus Maximus consisted of little more than earthen ramparts and the track itself, and thus perhaps appeared much like it does today; and, moreover, that gladiatorial contests took place either in the Forum or in other, makeshift locations. Only through the expansions and embellishments of several emperors did the Circus Maximus become one of the most magnificent buildings in the city (fig. 2.15).²² A sesterce struck after AD 103 (fig. 2.16) – that is, after the addition of the ranks of seats under Domitian and Trajan – offers some idea of the 620-meter-long structure.²³

Part of the coin's interest lies in its emphasis on certain features of the Circus Maximus. The north façade, with its high arcades and the ranks of windows in its two-storied attic level, forms one point of emphasis. The view is specifically taken from the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill in order to single out the sizable new superstructures, whose entrance halls gave access to the viewing platforms. Special attention, however, is given to the imperial monuments. The triumphal arch erected by Titus at the narrow, left-hand end of the Circus Maximus is represented with the same exaggerated scale as the two "towers," topped, like triumphal arches, with *quadrigae*, to either side of the *carceres* (the monumental structure enclosing the track) and the

²² *LTUR* 1: 272–77 (P. Cancio Rossetto); Humphrey 1986: 56 ff.

²³ Kent *et al.* 1973: 110, n. 259 R, pl. 68; *RIC* 571. On Trajan's building activity at the Circus Maximus, see Humphrey 1986: 102 ff.

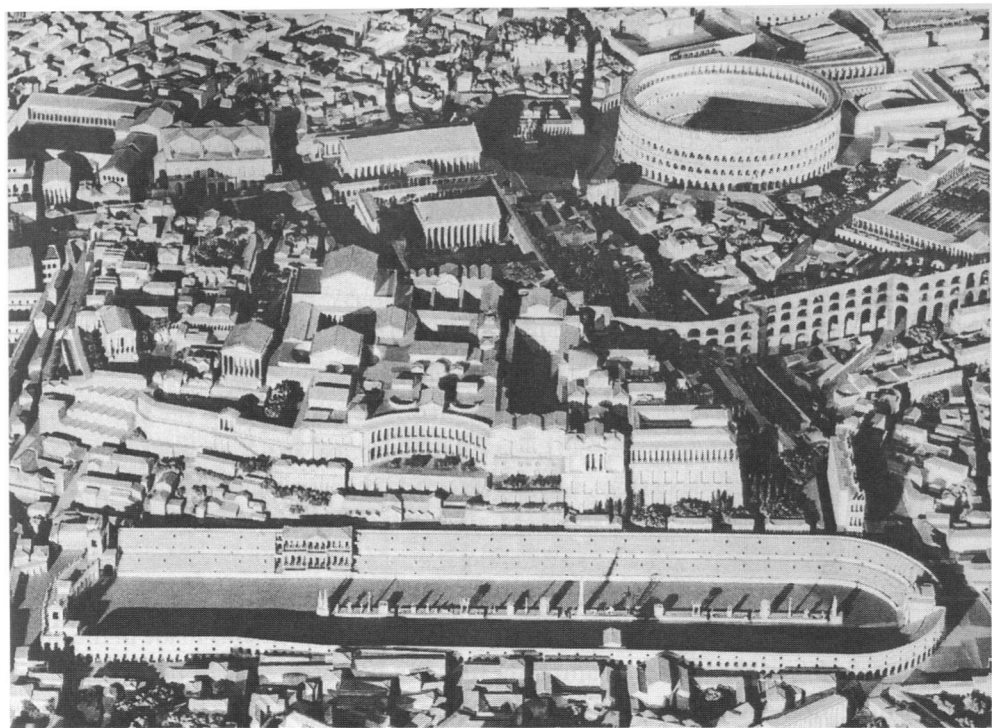


Fig. 2.15 Circus Maximus. Model in Museo della Civiltà Romana.



Fig. 2.16 Circus Maximus, sesterce, Mint of Rome AD 103–111.

obelisk raised by Augustus on the *spina*, which was itself limited by various markers. In the background one sees the temple of the Sun God, yet another focal point. Imperial architectural foundations, veneration of the emperor, and religious cult (associated, in this instance, with the games) are thus insistently visualized for the coin's viewer.

The Flavian amphitheater was presumably the most expensive architectural commission of all (figs. 2.17, 2.18).²⁴ The Colosseum illustrates in an exemplary way the two main concerns of imperial patronage of theater buildings: regulating the masses and offering them a symbolic vision of their participation in the political sphere. The logistics of the Colosseum's system of stairs and passages, which guaranteed the quick and controlled entry and exit of more than 50,000 visitors, served, as it did in the theaters, the need for a strict division of space along the lines of status and rank.²⁵ Indeed, one can say that this contrived system, unequalled to this day, was developed precisely for this purpose. The successive improvements made in the ordering of the masses in amphitheatres can be observed with particular clarity in the Augustan theaters in Northern Italy. Every visitor had his or her own fixed seat corresponding to his or her status, occupation, and age, and knew through which of the many numbered arcades he or she needed to pass to reach it. There were doubtless jostling throngs in the upper seats for women, slaves, and foreigners without status, for whom only comparatively few seats were kept open and whose status was easily read from their ordinary clothes (dark cloaks, for example). The citizens, however, for whom the bulk of the seats above the seating areas of senators and equestrian order was reserved, were further distinguished from the *sordidi* in that they were required to wear appropriate dress, namely the white toga. The amphitheater was not a football stadium.

Through this strict ordering of seating and clothing the Roman citizenry could experience itself as a structured and class-based collectivity. The emperor sat in the most prominent position in his lodge, itself emphasized at all the various sporting venues through architectural articulation, visible to all. The sight of the Colosseum at full capacity with the emperor seated in the center must have been overpowering. The coins (fig. 2.19) struck on the occasion of the games held on the "grand opening" of the Colosseum in AD 80 give some idea of this "aestheticization" of the masses.²⁶ "For actually an amphitheater like this is designed to impress the people with

²⁴ *LTUR* 1: 30–35 (Rea). On the architecture of the amphitheater, see Golvin 1988; on the games held in the amphitheatres, see Friedländer 1922: 50–75; Ville 1981. [For the architecture, see also Welch 2006; for entertainment in the amphitheater, Potter 1999: 303–25, with references.]

²⁵ Kolb 1995: 593 (with further literature). ²⁶ Kent *et al.* 1973: 107, n. 239 R, pl. 62.

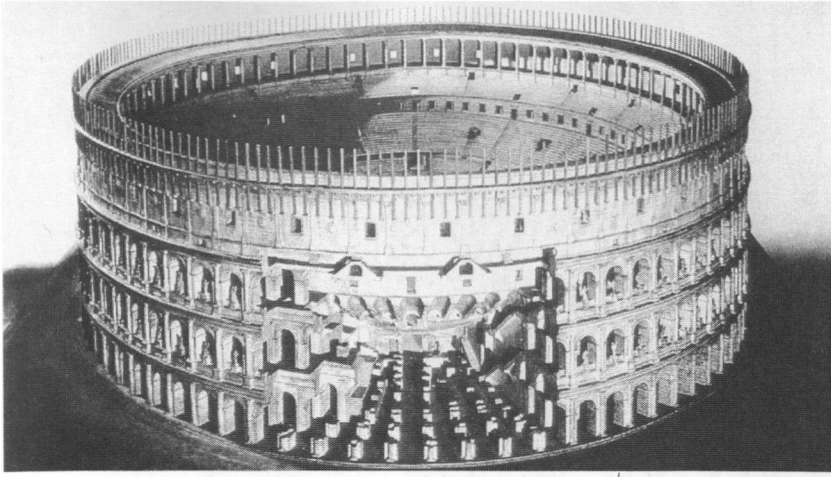


Fig. 2.17 Model of the Colosseum.

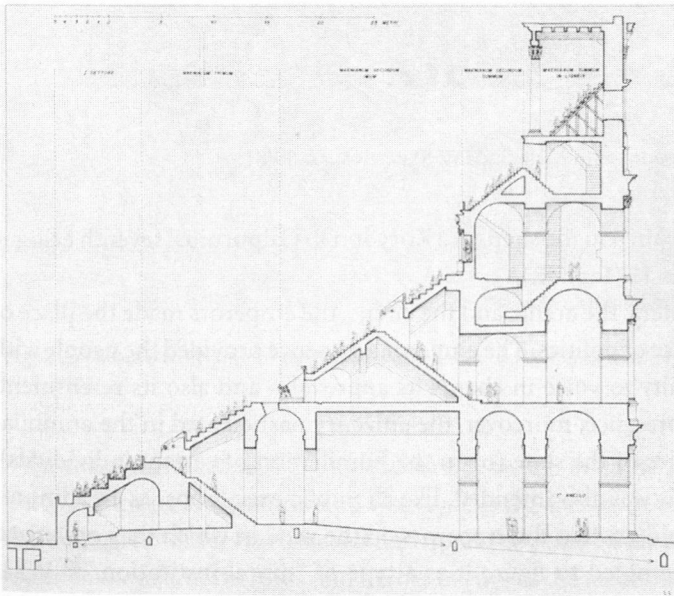


Fig. 2.18 Colosseum, cross-section of the cavea.

themselves,” wrote Goethe in reference to the arena in Verona.²⁷ For an ancient eye-witness of the overpowering impression made by a full arena,

²⁷ Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *The Flight to Italy: Diary and Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. T. J. Reed (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 31.



Fig. 2.19 Colosseum with Meta Sudans. Sestertius, AD 80/81.

one need only turn to the shepherd Korydon in Calpurnius' seventh eclogue (Korzeniewski 1971: 68 ff.).

At the theaters, the arena, and the circus, the emperors made the place of games the place of politics. The emperor's presence provided the people with the opportunity to voice in chants its approval – and also its resentment. Through its presence, moreover, the citizenry participated in the annihilation of enemies of the state (or in the humiliation of certain individuals). Of course, this was also intended, like all public executions, as an admonition. One could say that the emperors, in the ways in which they organized the arena, attempted to figure it as a type of "moral institution."²⁸ What had begun as private *munera* had now become state ceremonies. Credible contemporaries such as Pliny the Younger observe as a matter of course that gladiatorial contests and hunts had a fortifying effect on youth, inculcating in them the importance of bravery and the defiance of death, even if these values were exemplified through armed encounters between slaves and criminals (Plin. *Pan.* 33.1).

²⁸ Cf. Flaig 1995: 100–27; Cameron 1976: 157 ff.

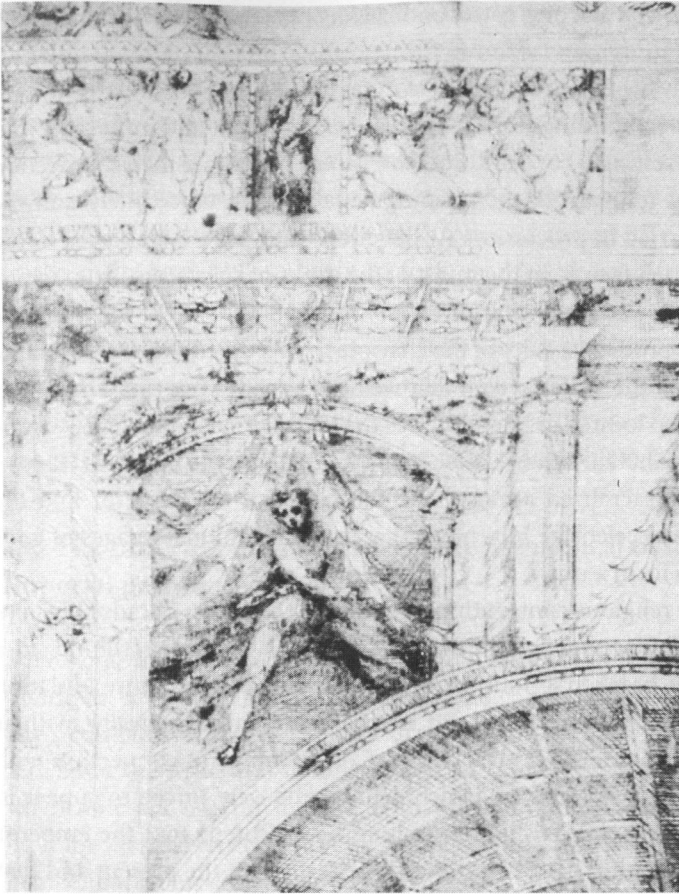


Fig. 2.20 Stucco from one of the vaulted entrances to the Colosseum.

In these various “palaces” for the games we again come across the leit-motivs of cultural elevation and display. On the façade of the Colosseum, the three great orders are stacked one upon the other in an almost didactic manner. Statues of the gods and heroes occupied the arcades, as coins and a relief suggest (fig. 2.19). If one is to believe these representations, then each arch housed a statue. The vaults were themselves decorated with hundreds of small scenes in stucco, likely predominantly mythological in subject matter, whose appearance we know only from Renaissance drawings (fig. 2.20). The same is true of the theater, where statues populated the multiple stories of the stage front. Even the Circus Maximus could not escape this cultural “wrapping” and mythological “charging.” As a mosaic in the famous villa in Piazza Armerina indicates, bronze statues of gods and athletes stood on

the walls over the starting gates, and classical herms between the *carceres* themselves (Humphrey 1986: 145 ff.).

Presumably the religious content of the statues of the gods and the mythological scenes in buildings for the games was as evident and important as it was in other settings. For, in Rome, the games never lost their connection with religious festivals. In the opening rituals, for instance, images of the gods were carried in procession. At the circus they were even placed in the *pulvinar*, a small temple in the midst of the ranks of spectators, from which the gods could watch the chariot races. On the other side of the track the Sun God, the protective deity of the charioteers, occupied the sizable temple represented on the Trajanic coin that we have already seen (fig. 2.16). This temple was also located in the middle of the banks of spectators' seats. Similarly, smaller sanctuaries were often incorporated into the theaters (Hanson 1959). In this sacralized atmosphere, the figure of the emperor and the images made to celebrate him merged with the traditional images of gods and myths to form a unity.

I stress the religious context that surrounded the games because I believe that the panegyric *topoi* of the Neronian and Flavian poets should, to a certain degree, be taken seriously, and not be brushed aside as pure adulation or base flattery. When Statius and Martial note enthusiastically in their descriptions of imperial festivals in the Colosseum or in connection with the mythological charades (in which delinquents were forced to appear in the guise of mythological figures, only to be executed) that the emperor enables mythological history to become a "reality" in the present and that they enjoy the emperor's company in the theater as if they were on Olympus, then these may very well be conceptions that had taken root in contemporary patterns of thought (Coleman 1990).

These issues are too wide-ranging and multifaceted to be dealt with at length here. Thus, the few observations I have made must suffice. With the games, the imperial patron became the organizer of a quasi-religious *theatrum mundi* in which the boundaries between the imperial festival and the world of myth seemed momentarily dissolved, as we know this phenomenon from the *mise-en-scène* of Baroque court ceremonial. The games were incorporated into a politico-religious ritual, to whose powers of suggestion patron and beneficiary alike could occasionally succumb.

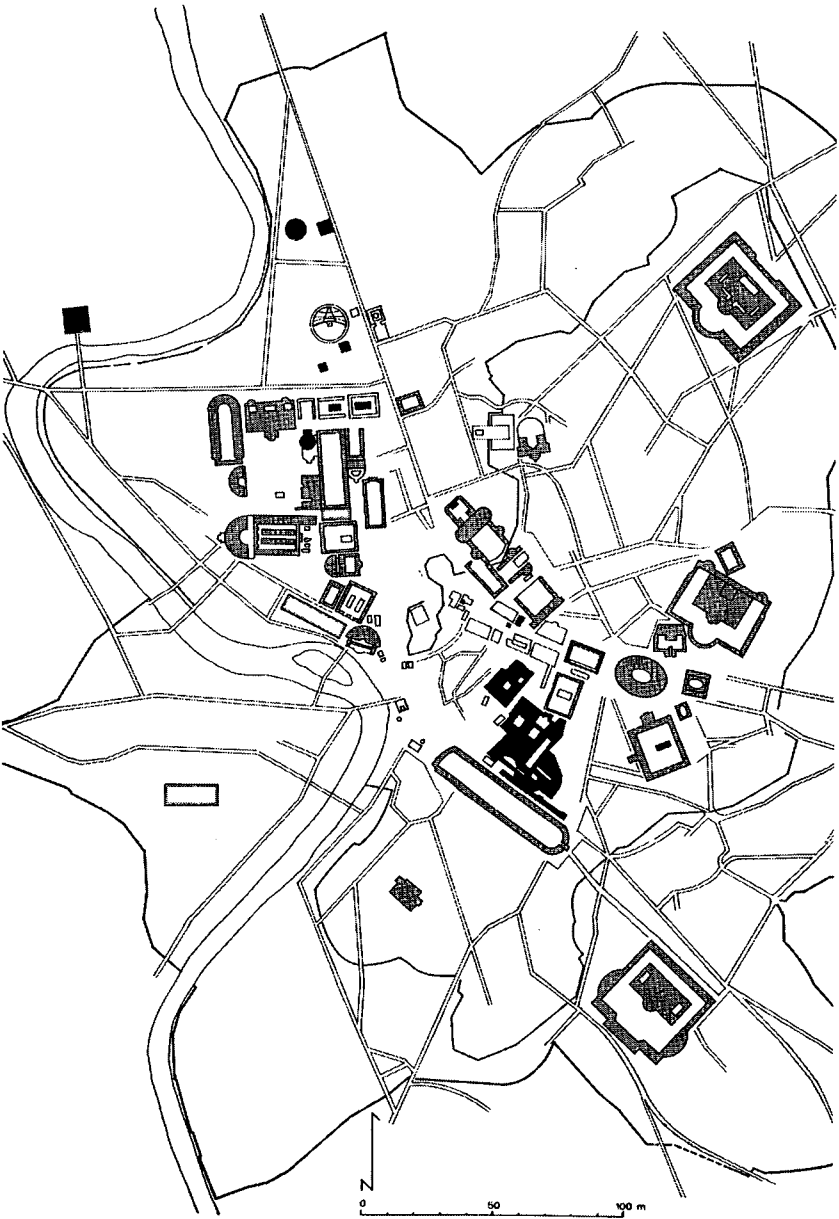
The emperors, then, created with their buildings for the people a coherent system of spaces and rituals through which certain aspects of what we would call "free-time" and "entertainment" for a broad spectrum of social classes were subjected to a cultural charging and elevation. Through architecture and art these spaces were inserted into the tradition of classical (Greek) culture and thus acquired an intrinsic nobility. Contrary to our experience,

leisure-time and entertainment were, in this system, defined as central components of public life and bound up directly with both political and religious manifestations. In this respect – and this is important to keep in mind – the modern designations leisure-time and entertainment are problematic, indeed misleading, because *we* associate these terms almost exclusively with facets of life that we consider to belong to the private sphere. Nonetheless, it is still worth asking questions first from our perspective, because precisely in this way can we begin to form an idea about differences in the organization of “culture” in the Roman imperial period.²⁹ We understand free-time as “time off,” that is, as the time during which we do not have to work. The whole modern system of values and virtues is structured around and in response to work. In antiquity, however, work was for many a daily necessity: it was not a virtue. I will return to this problem later.

IV. The ordering of public space: the ideological basis of imperial patronage

Surveying, from the reign of Constantine backwards, the entire body of buildings patronized by the emperors, one cannot fail to notice how the city’s complexion was extensively shaped by them (map 2.4, figs. 2.4, 2.6, 2.12). But the structural significance of these buildings only becomes clear when they are seen in relation both to the buildings that the emperors built for themselves and to the structures erected by the Roman senate and people in the emperor’s honor. The cursory map presented here illustrates two things. First, it points up the conservative or, at any rate, un-inflated dimensions of the imperial *domus* on the Palatine Hill (it is revealing that there was, at least in official language, no equivalent for “residence” in the aggrandizing sense of the German *Residenz*; cf. Isler 1978: 3–16). The map also visualizes the concentrated presence in the Campus Martius – both near and indeed among the various sites of popular leisure – of buildings built in honor of the emperors. Their dimensions vary greatly, ranging from the immense mausolea and temples of the deified emperors and their families to historiated columns, triumphal arches, and altars. As is well known, the Roman emperor was required to play a dual role: on the one hand, he had to understand and present himself as a magistrate in the tradition of the Republic; at the same time, he was a supreme ruler destined for inclusion in the ranks of the pantheon of state gods. Unlike kings who predicated their authority on notions of rule by divine right, the Roman emperor had to justify his rule through achievement. It was left to the senate and

²⁹ In this respect the specialized literature is largely uncritical. See, for instance, André 1994.



Map 2.4 Buildings for the people (gray) in relation to buildings of imperial self-presentation (black).

people of Rome to recognize these achievements with corresponding honors and, ultimately, with an apotheosis and its attendant rituals.³⁰ Such ruler-ideologies prevented the emperors from appearing to be kings and living in royal fashion. The structure of public space reflects this conception in an astonishingly clear manner. Avoiding excessive residences, the *princeps* demonstrated his power in buildings for the people.

The particular structure of imperial Rome only becomes evident when the ancient city is compared to the monarchical centers of other times and cultures. Whether one looks to ancient Chinese and oriental temple and royal residences or the Baroque urban arrangements in Turin, Mannheim, or Karlsruhe, the royal residence always dominates the city, whether open to it (Karlsruhe) or isolated from it (Beijing).³¹ Were an uninformed urban planner to study the layout of imperial Rome, he would likely locate the centers of power and the religious cult in the imperial bath-buildings or the Colosseum rather than in the *domus* on the Palatine Hill.

Why did the emperors devote so much energy to these costly projects for the people? Here the Republican origins of the monarchy played a decisive role. In Republican Rome, annually elected magistrates bore the responsibility for public edifices and the organization and presentation of games. It was expected of victorious generals that they donate a portion of their war booty to the state treasury or otherwise channel such funds into foundations and festivals for the people. Thus, the Roman people had from time immemorial a type of claim on gifts from the powerful. In large letters on the entrances to the Colosseum and the Forum of Trajan it was announced that the imperial patrons had funded the construction of the buildings “with war booty,” *ex manubiis*, in the first case with the treasures looted from the Temple in Jerusalem,³² in the second, with the Dacians’ legendary holdings of gold. The largest booms in building activity almost regularly followed triumphs over rich enemies.

Starting with Augustus, a unique form of politics was developed out of the older Republican traditions.³³ The emperors had to appear as elected magistrates and generals of the Republic – hence their astonishingly unceremonial presence in public space. As monarchs, they simultaneously had to demonstrate their power and magnificence. Within this set of circumstances, “popular” buildings and the games became an important medium through which the emperors could display their power – and, at the same

³⁰ On imperial apotheosis, see Price 1987 [see also Zanker 2004a; Arce, this volume].

³¹ Numerous examples in Braundfels 1977, and Benevolo 1975 (German ed. Frankfurt 1983).

³² As has been demonstrated by Alföldy 1995 in a superlative reconstruction of an inscription.

³³ On the following, see, above all, Veyne 1976: 442 ff.

time, an important indicator, for the people, of the quality and character of each ruler. Rulers, such as Tiberius, who built little and were tight-fisted when it came to the games were criticized by Suetonius and other historians. After Augustus had made the first, fundamental steps, a reciprocal and “self-propelled” system of giving and “appreciative” receiving was developed, a type of “dialogue” on whose functioning both sides, the people and the emperor, were dependent. In accordance with his role, the emperor exercised the *liberalitas* expected of him in his acts of giving and patronage. For this, he was thanked by the people and senate with honors, apotheosis, and cult. As the responses to the emperor’s *liberalitas* took the form of monumental arches, columns, altars, and temples, this dialogue was written all over the very fabric of the city.

This giving and taking was a fundamental element of the political system of the Principate. When Augustus developed a monarchy that largely continued the system of offices of the Republican state, the traditional privileges of the people also needed to be retained. The emperor thus became a type of patron of the Roman *plebs*. As such, he had to tend to the Romans as a good *patronus* to his *familia*. In return, the people had to stand behind the emperor in the manner of an extensive clientele, making his affairs their own. It has rightly been pointed out that the remains of several elements of the Roman plebiscite system can be found in the ideology of the Principate. In the present context, it is important to note that in his patronage of costly buildings and games the emperor was operating, no differently than he did in distributions of money and grain, within the established framework of his “tasks” and duties as *princeps*. The good *patronus* also attended to the well-being and happiness of his clients; his strivings were to be directed at seeing them contented. From a modern perspective one might ask why the emperor did not support the people with working programs or measures such as housing construction (both existed in a rudimentary state, but never became the object of an explicit political program). In order to understand this, one must, as suggested above, consider that work only became a moral norm within the context of modern, industrialized society. In the classical *polis*, whose values had also achieved universal validity in Rome by the Hellenistic period, the free citizen was distinguished by being “master of his own time” – that is, capable of participating in leisurely activity (*otium*) dedicated to the cultivated enjoyment of his own life. One could say that the emperor, by building for the Roman citizenry spaces for leisurely pursuits, only turned the latter into proper, full-fledged citizens. This is presumably the reason why one does not find any fundamental criticisms of the emperors’ seemingly unlimited expenditures on buildings and games.



Fig. 2.21 Column of Trajan. Sestertius, Mint of Rome, c. AD 112.

V. Patrons in competition

Within the framework of the “dialogue” with the Roman people, the emperor could engage the urban population with a new architectural commission even while the complex was being built: the building process itself could become the object of discourse. Accordingly, individual buildings were introduced on coins long before they were completed (Fig. 2.21). The acquisition and costs of the property were discussed, technical difficulties made a central theme and the building’s effect determined to some extent. Thus Trajan had a portion of the Quirinal Hill removed in order to create space for his forum. The senate and people “responded” with an honorary column (which, of course, had already long figured in the architects’ plans for the complex), maintaining in the column’s inscription that the height of the column corresponded to the height of the portion of the Quirinal that had been carted away to make room for the forum. This message seems to have been more important to them than mention of the war against the Dacians: the emperor is capable of all things, even the subjection

of nature.³⁴ Festive opening ceremonies followed the completion of such building projects; in the case of the Forum of Augustus (Dio 55.10) and the Colosseum (66.25.1–3), these ceremonies were accompanied by several days of games.

As patrons of architecture, the emperors operated under significant amounts of competitive pressure. An emperor did not necessarily *have* to build, but once he had begun a project, he was measured against his predecessors.³⁵ Thus the imperial fora, porticoes, basilicas, and baths, as well as the temples built by the imperial house, grew to greater and greater dimensions, their decoration and furnishings becoming more magnificent, their ornament more complex and costly. One can, I believe, demonstrate that this “motor” determined in a fundamental way the stylistic development of imperial art and fashionable taste in several periods of Roman art. That this competition was felt by the planners of imperial projects is occasionally evident in the buildings themselves. Thus, for example, Apollodorus, the architect of Trajan’s Forum, cited both the architectural form and architectural ornament of the Forum of Augustus.³⁶ Taking the two large exedrae of the Forum of Augustus, which open onto the porticoes of the Forum, and inserting them into his plan in the same place, Apollodorus doubled the number of exedrae in his design of the two ends of the Basilica Ulpia, which are based on exedra-like semi-circular forms (cf. Fig. 2.2). Typologically, this was a bold invention, one which owes its existence to the attempt to surpass an illustrious architectural forerunner. It might be fruitful to consider whether the often stereotypical forms of imperial state architecture actually have much to do with this fixation on the architectural works of the emperor’s predecessor: “the same, but bigger, better and more expensive” seems to have been the watchword. At any rate, innovations in the formal repertory were not expected of architects and artists. With the attachment to the Greek orders (on account of their symbolic “content”) only a very limited amount of innovation in this area would have been possible.

Rather than invest in innovation, the emperors poured money into the costliest forms of architectural embellishment, such as various marbles, which had to be transported over great distances to the imperial capital. Research on ancient marble quarries during the last twenty years has offered

³⁴ On the interpretation of the inscription on the Column of Trajan, see, most recently, the literature cited in *LTUR* 2: 356–59 (Maffei); Settis 1988: 50 ff. [cf. Claridge 2007].

³⁵ On imperial organization and administration: Hirschfeld 1905: 265; Robinson 1992.

³⁶ For the most recent treatment of Apollodorus, with the literary sources, see Scagliarini Corlàita 1993.

up an impressive picture of the organizational complexity involved in the acquisition of colored marbles for imperial projects (Fant 1988). Under Augustus and Tiberius the quarries yielding the most sought-after types of marbles in North Africa, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece were (like the mines that supplied precious metals for coinage) made imperial possessions and their administration entrusted to a central imperial authority. The organization of a *ratio marmorum* presided over by imperial freedmen is likely directly connected to Augustus' great building projects in Rome. With growing need and competition more and more quarries were opened. A particularly impressive example illustrates both how consistent and detailed such planning could be and the extent of the emperor's involvement in these enterprises (Pensabene 1994). A statue of a Dacian, found in a quarry in Phrygia and worked from the speckled violet Pavonazzetto available there, corresponds exactly in scale with the statues of the Dacians uncovered in the excavations of the Forum of Trajan.³⁷ This indicates that the masons in distant Phrygia had a model figure, probably a cast, from Rome. The same also applies, at the very least, to the porphyry quarries in Egypt and the giallo-antico quarry in Chemtou in Numidia, which likewise sent statues of Dacians to Rome (where they were found) for inclusion in Trajan's forum complex. The Romans were familiar with the provenances of the various types of marble, and they could themselves observe the complex and costly operations involved in transporting them to Rome. That the spectrum of colored marbles was a sign of imperial omnipotence needed no explanation.

VI. Organizing marvels

The public saw how the emperors' marvels were organized – the logistical complexity behind them only served to amplify their magnificence. The same is true of the games. In ancient Rome, the arena belonged to the emperor; an official wanting to use the arena for the purpose of staging his own event had to ask permission and be willing to submit to imperial supervision. Like the patronage of architecture, the games were also a site for competition between the ruler and his predecessors.³⁸ Contemporaries often remarked with some "appreciative horror" the constant increase in the number of game days, gladiators, and animals used as quarry. Although

³⁷ Waelkens 1985; Schneider 1986.

³⁸ Historical overview in Friedländer 1922: 2.77–92; Kolb 1995: 587–606.

the emperors attempted on several occasions to enforce restrictions (on the regular games held by officials, of course, and certainly not on their own exceptional productions), their efforts followed again and again the circuitous path back to increased complexity, sumptuousness, and cost. The absurdity (for us) of this system of ever greater productions, driven, as it were, by its own momentum, is exemplified by the provisioning of animals for the arena entertainments. The complexity involved in their acquisition was as great as that connected with the removal and transport of marble from the quarries. The army might even be deployed to capture the animals and bring them back to the capital. For reasons of space, I cannot go into this area of imperial patronage in greater detail, although tomb inscriptions have much to say about the imperial slaves and freedmen who were charged with the various tasks associated with such shows, from the elephant keeper and the usher in the stands to the doctors who treated the gladiators and the costume directors.³⁹

The imperial cornucopia was emptied into the arena. The emperor was expected to provide the impossible, the fantastic – myth on demand. Ideas and innovations, therefore, were demanded of those responsible for organizing the programs of entertainments and mounting festivals (in contrast to the imperial architects). Under certain emperors and in fortuitous financial situations the imaginative possibilities were unlimited. Augustus, for example, financed the construction of an artificial lake in Trastevere for a dramatic reenactment, with a cast of some several thousand men, of the Battle of Salamis (Dio 55.10.7). Under Nero an expedition, led by a Roman *eques*, was sent to the Baltic to procure masses of amber, which were then used to decorate, for a day, the wooden architecture of the arena (Plin. *NH* 37.45). On the occasion of a famous Saturnalia feast, Domitian fed the entire Colosseum (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6).⁴⁰ Fantasy became reality, paradise material. The people's imagination was to be engaged over the course of the entire day. This was above all the case for the great imperial festivals occasioned, for instance, by triumphs or the dedication of magnificent new buildings. Like the buildings themselves, such celebratory ceremonies also put the patron's magnificence on display.

The goal of all this was to please the people. An *aureus* struck in AD 202 in honor of the crown prince Caracalla reproduces the enormous ship that was at that time set up in the Circus Maximus and from whose hull 100 beasts were released daily for a week: for the emperor, nothing was impossible. The coin's inscription renders the motto used to label all these complex

³⁹ Sabbatini *Tumulesi* 1988, vol. 1; Jennison 1937.

⁴⁰ Cf. Cancik 1965: 100–98.



Fig. 2.22 Aureus, Mint of Rome, c. AD 202.

and expensive marvels: *LAETITIA TEMPORUM* (see Fig. 2.22).⁴¹ The emperor made his people “happy.” Of course, one wonders how this “happiness” figured in attitudes towards everyday life. It has been said often enough that everyday life, seen from the vantage point of modern experiences and customs, was, especially for the lowest strata of society, particularly hard and in many respects unsatisfactory. But we do not know just how heavily the adversities of everyday life weighed upon the entire complex of sentiments towards life. What is certain, however, is that festivals and games were not rare or marginal occurrences, but rather occupied a central position in the lives of the Romans (the same thing can also be said of the enjoyments associated with the other “spaces of leisure”). Writing about Trajan, Fronto, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius, suggests that the emperor knew well that the Roman people was held together by two things in particular: distributions of grain (*annona*) and games (*spectacula*). An emperor’s success, according to Fronto, was no less dependent on pleasurable entertainments than it was on serious matters. The neglect of serious affairs quite naturally engendered the gravest problems and dangers, but even greater discontentedness, Fronto

⁴¹ Kent *et al.* 1973: 128, n. 390, pl. 94.

contends, resulted from the neglect of enjoyments for the people (*ludicra*). The most noteworthy sentence for the present context follows: while distributions of grain please on an individual level (*singillatim . . . ac nominatim*), the games keep the people in its entirety (*universum <populum>*) in good spirits.⁴²

VII. Conclusion

The entertainment enterprises organized by the emperors included a large part of the citizenry. Limits were set only at the lowest levels. Although only comparatively few seats at the Colosseum were available to women, foreigners, and slaves, these groups were not excluded entirely. According to Pliny the Elder (*NH* 36.102), 250,000 spectators were able to find places at the Circus Maximus at any one time – a number doubted by many archaeologists but which is in no way to be ruled out. Late-antique sources offer considerably larger numbers.⁴³ The number of seats in the Circus Maximus possibly corresponded – approximately – to the number of citizens entitled to receiving imperial *congiaria*. In any case, the residential quarters were so deserted on the days of large events that security troops had to be called in to patrol the streets (Suet. *Aug.* 43). There were certainly differences in the type of audience at the various entertainment venues. The audience at the theater was, even if all the theaters put on plays at the same time, less numerous than that at the Colosseum, or at the Circus Maximus. For the entertainments on offer at the theater, for all the salaciousness of the pantomimes, were not spectacular enough for the masses. The porticoes and squares were also intended for the enjoyment of the entire citizenry, and the imperial baths, if all were open for business at the same time, could on any given day have accommodated some 15,000 to 20,000 visitors at the very least. The fundamental point in this context is that citizens of all classes, including senators and the emperor, found themselves together in

⁴² Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 20 (A 259), ed. van den Hout (Teubner).

⁴³ Pliny's figure is doubted by most scholars. Humphrey (1986: 126) argues that the 150,000 seats that Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions for the time of Augustus would better correspond to the archaeological remains. On the other hand, Pliny's number would correspond approximately with the number of male citizens entitled to the state's distributions of grain and money. I tend to agree more with this position, also taken by F. Coarelli, all the more because late-antique regional censuses furnish even higher numbers (385,000 and 485,000 *loca*). The problem cannot be solved at present, because we do not know, among other things, whether there were additional wooden constructions on the slopes of the Palatine or just how close together the spectators actually sat.

the various “popular” buildings. In this respect, the culture of festivals and entertainments organized by the Roman emperors differs from the festival culture of the Middle Ages and the Baroque period, when nobility and commoners – apart from religious processions – celebrated separately, with the people watching the festivals of the nobility or vice versa. In Rome, by contrast, there were no court festivals.

At this point one would have to enter into a more serious comparison of different festival cultures, but I do not have the space for such a comparative excursus. But we can nonetheless retain *one* significant characteristic of the culture of entertainments and festivals put on by the emperors: namely the “representative” buildings erected for the people. In the late Republic, popular games and entertainments had still been, as in the Middle Ages and early modern Europe, held in squares, squares which had, at the most, been dressed up for the games with ephemeral wooden structures (comparable to the *palio* in Siena). Under the emperors, by contrast, the games took place in permanent, “representative” buildings that through their massiveness alone signaled permanence and perpetual repetition. The emperors, however, did not limit their patronage to buildings for games and entertainments, but instead also provided the daily free-time rituals of individuals with the same festive frame. The difference between everyday life and days of celebration was, on account of this particular structural configuration (and again in contrast to what we know from later European culture), not articulated but rather effaced. The walk through the city and the trip to the bath had, thanks to these structures, a festive character. In the “popular” buildings built by the emperor, everyday life also became a celebration.

The luxurious construction and decoration of these spaces put the unlimited possibilities open to the emperors on display, was an expression of their power, and communicated to the citizenry feelings of pride in sharing in this power – in possessing a world empire. But this is only one aspect. As we have seen, these buildings simultaneously referred through their sculptural and pictorial decoration, with its almost pedagogical forcefulness, to participation in classical culture. This was commensurate with the cult of education and culture, which in the imperial period had seized several tiers of society and which also extensively affected the shape of private life.⁴⁴ It is difficult to say to what extent such references were perceived by the visitors to these spaces. However, even if they are read – in accordance with postmodern experience – as nostalgic ornaments without reference rather than significant symbols, such classical references at the very least point to

⁴⁴ On this topic, see Zanker 1995: 190 ff.

the efforts of the emperors to situate the popular amusements of the masses in a definite tradition and to endow these spaces with the aura of classical culture.

In this context, comparisons with today's leisure resorts for short vacations (for instance, the Holiday Villages and Center Parcs) that are sprouting up everywhere are irresistible. Among these, the amusement parks arranged around large swimming pools and water parks seem especially comparable, at first glance, to the imperial baths. In both cases there is an accumulation of amusement possibilities, and in both the suggestive charging of spaces plays a fundamental role. As at the arena, the baths, and in the porticoes, popular free-time activities such as swimming, sports, games, shopping, and eating are also put on offer in these "weekend paradises," but in locations that are closed off hermetically from the outside world and in a particular atmosphere that evokes memories and wishes alike. In the place of the classical world of culture and learning, the decorators of modern amusement parks attempt to suggest eternal sun, romanticized visions of the South Seas, and all kinds of delights associated with travel. "Welcome to Center Parcs' short vacation for families! Experience an entirely new feeling of freedom and leisure: pure nature, comfort, sport, fun and relaxation. We look forward to seeing you" (from the new advertisement of the German branch of the Dutch company Center Parcs).

The values of both societies, ancient and modern, are reflected in the spaces in which they enjoy their free time. In both instances, spaces of leisure project an alternative world, one different from and indeed opposite to the everyday. The individuals who buy their way into a vacation paradise wish – as the advertisements assure them – to escape, to avoid thinking about their work or homes. We do not know whether the Romans viewed the "popular" buildings of the emperors as a type of compensation for the poor circumstances in which the majority of them lived. This concept of compensation, however, is misleading, because it likewise proceeds to a great extent from our modern circumstances. Rather, I imagine that the Romans experienced imperial "popular" buildings as places of gratification, places where they actually experienced the high points of life, *laetitia temporum*, and that the reality of these places was so potent that the misery and unpleasant aspects of everyday life were temporarily displaced and outshone by the splendors on offer.

Not that the culture of leisure and entertainments sponsored by the emperors should be taken as a model! But it is evident that it achieved many of the things for which our society longs: the experience of community, togetherness (*Wir-Gefühl*), political and social involvement, and

integration. Amusement parks are located on flat land somewhere near the highway (where property is inexpensive and parking is not an issue). Inside, one does indeed see others enjoying the pleasures of their free time, but in small groups or alone, except when the paid entertainer successfully intervenes and draws a crowd. The virtual worlds of experience made possible by electronic media, however, only intensify the longing for bodily closeness and togetherness at mass events and activities. Where these are achieved (for instance, in the soccer stadium or at Oktoberfest in Munich), there is indeed happiness and joy, but nothing beyond the occasion itself unites the amorphous mass, and the various spaces, more than ever, do not communicate any collective values.

The “spaces of leisure” built by the Roman emperors, however, were located in the very heart of the city. They were not secondary structures, buildings that one could have done without, if need be, in difficult times (as, for instance, is the case for present-day cultural institutions). Rather, they represented central sites for the self-realization of society, as indispensable as traveling and shopping are for us. They were political spaces in which the citizen found his ideal of a good life realized, even if only temporarily. *Laetitia temporum* was clearly more than a simple buzzword. A multitude of images in homes and on all possible types of objects from the private realm attests to what great degree the games and entertainments of Rome dominated the conversations and imaginations of contemporaries, and literary sources enable one to presume the same about visitors to the baths and the *flâneurs* in the city’s porticoes.⁴⁵ And just as the emperors in Rome built buildings and organized games for the people, so too did the local elites everywhere in the larger cities of the Empire. Even slightly beyond Hadrian’s Wall one encounters sizeable amphitheaters and baths. They were the indispensable institutions of urban culture – ones that testified, practically and symbolically, to the quality of life, widely admired in the “Barbaricum,” enjoyed in the Imperium Romanum.

⁴⁵ On this, see the forthcoming work by A. Scheithauer, *Das Echo der kaiserlichen Baupolitik* (Habilitationsschrift at the University of Heidelberg) [= Scheithauer 2000].

WERNER ECK

In the sixth Book of his world history, the Greek historian Polybius traces Rome's rise to world power back to its mixed constitution (6.11–18), with the monarchical element represented by the magistrates, the aristocratic element represented by the senate, and the democratic element in the form of popular assemblies.¹ That this held true only on a theoretical level, and that the aristocracy represented the actual governing body, is something that even Polybius himself could not refute, especially since the magistrates were elected from the ranks of the aristocracy. The senate and the senatorial families largely determined the politics of the Roman Republic – even though politics were not independent of the popular masses, and even though the wishes of the masses, perhaps more often than is acknowledged, had an influence on the decisions of the senate, and on individual senators in particular.² But the overall character of Republican political life was clearly aristocratic.

As a result, this political life was also characterized to a large extent by competition between individual families. There existed a multi-centered power system in which each one of the various senatorial families represented its own more or less clearly constituted center around which a gravitational field developed that stood in competition with others. This system was reproduced on almost every occasion, especially in the public sphere. Above all, the numerous triumphs following military victories offered repeated opportunity to present one's family to the public.³ In order to firmly anchor their success in the public realm, triumphant generals erected victory monuments and built temples as testimonials crafted in stone to their success. The latter type of construction also served the purpose of providing a place where the triumphant aristocrats could show the people, i.e., the constituency of Rome, part of their war booty as proof of their victories. This was something to which one could repeatedly refer in the future (cf. Itgenshorst 2005). In the late Republic, games (*ludi*) were

¹ I would like to thank Gabriela Stoicea, Adam Stead, and Björn Ewald for translating this chapter.

² See the controversy initiated by Millar 1998; cf. Yakobson 1999. For the other side of the debate, see the review of Yakobson by Hölkeskamp 2000.

³ Cf., e.g., Walter 2004; Hölkeskamp 2005.

also used to introduce their sponsors to voters and to commit them to popular memory through hitherto unseen displays of new and extravagant elements. This was especially important if the sponsors were candidates for higher magistracies. Aemilius Scaurus, aedile in 58, was only a particularly blatant example of this phenomenon.⁴ Equally useful for showcasing individual families were the *pompae funebres*, which evoked the illusion of a procession of ancestors. In all of these cases, the goal was always to surpass the other families and emphasize the superiority of one's own. The numerous statuary monuments in the city served the same purpose of making the memory of individual deeds and family accomplishments permanent. Although the competition that ensued could not be entirely without limits, due to the occasional interventions of the senate or the censors, the extent of each family's statuary presence in public space depended significantly on the individual families themselves. In this context it should suffice to refer to the monuments of the Claudii Marcelli, one of which was still standing on the Capitol in the year AD 65, even though under Augustus' rule many old statues had been removed from that location.⁵

From the time of Sulla, at the latest, there emerged an imbalance in this multi-centered power system, marked by an increasingly pronounced visibility of one person or family within the public realm. Sulla, *dictator rei publicae constituendae causa*, was honored through statuary monuments at numerous locations in Rome, more so than all other aristocrats before him – a direct sign of his overall political influence.⁶ With his Theater on the Campus Martius, Pompey surpassed everything Rome had previously witnessed in terms of monuments erected in honor of individual persons (see Packer, this volume). Caesar, of course, outdid Pompey in this effort, or so his plans suggest. His grand projects – the Forum Iulium, the Curia Iulia, and the Saepta Iulia – clearly indicate the extent to which he reorganized and reconfigured the public space of the city according to his own needs and in order to promote his individual persona. Compared to him, others could hardly stand out.⁷

⁴ Cic. *Sest.* 116. On the eleven-meter tall columns of Lucullan marble in his house, see Ascon. *Scaur.* 27C; Plin. *NH.* 36.5 ff.; *LTUR* 2: 26 (Papi); Hölkeskamp 1996.

⁵ *AE* 1978, 658 = RMD 2.79 (Roxan 1985).

⁶ Reference should be made here to a piece of evidence, a chance survival, according to which one of the Roman *vici*, the *vicus laci* (sic!) *Fundani*, erected a statue for Sulla (*CIL* 6.1297 = *ILS* 872 = *ILLRP* 1.352). It is highly unlikely that precisely this account would have survived if there had only been this single statue of Sulla in Rome.

⁷ The following arguments have been treated, at least cursorily and, in some cases, in a very detailed manner, in several of my earlier studies. Reference to these pieces will not be made in each and every case here. The following items are relevant to the following discussion: Eck

Augustus restored (or renewed) the *res publica*. The measures of 28 and 27 BC were not mere exercises in public rhetoric. Octavian had the following message inscribed on a gold coin minted in 28 BC: IVRA ET LEGES P(OPVLO) R(OMANO) RESTITVIT (Rich and Williams 1999). In practice this meant that proper rights would be restored at least to the institutions. The rulings of January 27 created a framework which, compared to the hitherto enshrined arbitrary monopoly, seemed to announce a return to the Republic. A direct monarchy did not arise. One should always bear in mind that the *imperium* necessary for control over the provinces entrusted to him – a basis of Augustus' power – was granted, until AD 13, only for limited periods, such as five or ten years. Still, through the realities of actual power, it became increasingly clear, already under Augustus, that there existed only one real decision-making body, compared to which all the other carriers of influence and prestige – i.e., traditionally, the important senatorial families – could no longer play a substantial role, and even less so an independent one. The former multi-centered system quickly developed into a mono-centered one. Insofar as others could exert some influence, they did so through the mediation of the *princeps*. The small aristocratic stars became satellites circling the sun.

This change of system did not come about directly by means of new statutory decrees or laws through which senators were hindered from attaining their goals, but was rather the consequence of a change in political structures. Symptomatic of this is everything related to the Roman triumph. During the Republic, triumphs allowed any one member of the *ordo senatorius* to present himself to the Roman public in a way that was not possible on the occasion of any other major event. A long-lasting memory would then be achieved by means of triumphal monuments in the broadest sense. Augustus did not bring about any changes in the external, formal rules of a triumph. So, for instance, even in the first years following Octavian's own triple triumph of 29 BC, seven other victories were celebrated in Rome: two of them in 28, two more in the following year, another one in 26, and yet another one in 21 BC. Finally, on March 27, 19 BC, L. Cornelius Balbus, in his capacity as proconsul *ex Africa*, celebrated a victory over the Garamantes. All these victories are documented in the *Fasti Capitolini*, which were mounted on the Arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum. To be sure, the fact that the last marble slab mentions the triumph of Cornelius Balbus is laden with symbolic meaning: there was no room left for other entries.

Balbus' victory was, indeed, the last proper triumph celebrated by a senator outside the imperial family. Yet no one officially deprived the members of the ruling class of this old right;⁸ doing so would have constituted an unnecessary political affront on the part of Augustus. There was simply no more opportunity to claim this right. Since mid-Augustan times, all consular armies (i.e., armies with more than two legions in the hands of one commander) were no longer entrusted to proconsuls, as had been the case with all the triumphators of 28–19 BC, but solely to *legati Augusti pro praetore*, who performed their tasks under the auspices of Augustus.⁹ However, the legates did not have an independent *imperium* and were therefore not legally entitled to celebrate a triumph. The acclamation of *imperator* on the battlefield was reserved for the holder of the *auspicia*, and that was Augustus, from whom the legates derived their own *imperium*. This most spectacular form of self-representation migrated from the aristocracy to the sole holder of power without bringing about any explicit changes in the rules of the Republic. In addition, Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law and most intimate advisor, who, unlike the legates, possessed an independent *imperium*, had repeatedly renounced his triumphs, thereby setting the political example of *modestia* vis-à-vis the public sphere. Other members of the ruling class could not disregard this example.

In this way senators were indirectly deprived of a vehicle for self-representation in public space, since, along with the triumph itself, senators also lost the opportunity to erect triumphal monuments (at least those to which the name of the triumphator could be attached). Further, these triumphal monuments had been paid for with war booty, but now these *manubiae*, too, were a right that legates had to forfeit in favor of Augustus. Accordingly, the last great edifice erected in Rome by a non-ruler, and carrying his name, was the *Theatrum Balbi*, named after the last senatorial triumphator. All subsequent buildings in Rome itself could either be traced back to the name of an emperor, or they were erected by the Senate and Roman People (SPQR), but now no longer in the name of an individual member of the ruling class outside the *domus Augusta*. Suetonius reports that Augustus had often called upon leading personalities to beautify Rome by erecting new edifices or renovating old ones (Aug. 29). But the names which he mentions in this context – Marcius Philippus, L. Cornificius, Asinius Pollio, Munatius Plancus, Cornelius Balbus, Statilius Taurus – are

⁸ There was, indeed, another *ovatio*, i.e., a “small triumph,” awarded by Claudius after his own triumph over Britain, to the conqueror of Britain, A. Plautius (*PIR*² P 457).

⁹ The last proconsul known to command a consular army was the proconsul of Illyricum, but only until 12/11 BC. But none of them had a chance to lead an army in an important war.

precisely those of the triumphators from the early years of the Augustan period. Suetonius was simply not able to give any later names, nor could he know any, for there were then no longer any triumphators. In the time of Trajan, the *Balneum Surae* was erected, taking its name from the most intimate advisor of the emperor, Licinius Sura, consul for the third time in 107. But this was not a public edifice built by the three-time consul. It was erected instead by Trajan himself, who thereby wanted to honor his friend Sura through a monument that would bear his name – a prime example of how only certain individuals could still associate themselves with an edifice in Rome for the purpose of *memoria*.¹⁰

There is yet another respect in which the triumph and all that came with it illustrates how deeply circumstances changed under Augustus. From a political and military point of view, the *princeps* was the actual holder of power, but he also depended on the cooperation of those who, in their capacity as legates, performed tasks on his behalf, either in the provinces or during military campaigns. Even though triumphs could be celebrated only by the *princeps* or one of his family members, the prestige that came with these triumphs also extended to the military commanders themselves. They were therefore not completely excluded from public presentations and from the conferral of permanent public signs of recognition. To this end Augustus came up with the idea of a surrogate, the *ornamenta triumphalia*. Whenever, upon the *princeps*' request, the senate would acknowledge a victory as worthy of a triumph, it (i.e., the senate) could bestow the *ornamenta triumphalia* upon the victorious commander or commanders: *auctore principe senatus ornamenta triumphalia decrevit*, as several inscriptions demonstrate.¹¹ The triumphant senator could wear these honorary tokens of recognition at various celebrations, but they could also be displayed in the senator's house or, later on, at his funeral.

Still more important was the fact that Augustus decreed, most likely through a *senatus consultum*, that every senator who had obtained a triumphant victory for the emperor would be honored with a *statua triumphalis*, a triumphal statue in the Forum Augusti, the center of Augustan self-presentation and self-memorialization in Rome. This was the precise location from which they had once set out for the provinces to join their army. And this was where the trajectory came full circle. The accompanying inscription described the career of the imperial legate, as well as the military accomplishment for which the respective statue had been erected as a sign of

¹⁰ Cf. *LTUR* 5: 65 (Venditetti).

¹¹ Cf., e.g., *CIL* 6.1386 = *ILS* 1023; *CIL* 6.1444 = 31654 = *ILS* 1022; *CIL* 14.3608 = *ILS* 986, and many other examples.

public recognition. For those being thus honored, it was almost the highest form of public recognition that one could possibly imagine. Only a two- or three-time consulate brought similar prestige. And, finally, the statue was not just erected anywhere in Rome, but in the Forum Augusti. The honored person had no say in the choice of the location, and could not realize the intention of a specific representation through associations bound to a specific site. The location, which was not open to discussion, was the Forum Augusti. The act of recognition, therefore, bound the individual senator most emphatically to his patron, the *princeps*. In this way the hierarchy of power was reproduced in the Forum and made visible to everyone. The center of the Forum Augusti was dominated by the image of Augustus on a *quadriga*. The statues of the latest conquerors were grouped around this center, much like the statues of the *virī illustres* that embellished the walls of the forum porticoes with their *elogia*. Everything was arranged around one center, the *princeps*.

It is hard to determine for how long senators or their families could still be honored on their own initiative or through other persons in a *locus publicus*, i.e., in the public space of the city (cf. Eck 1984a: 146 ff.). A well-known, powerful honorary monument, over nine meters wide, was commissioned by at least nine provincial cities for a senator named Rufus, proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia. The monument could date back to the first years of Augustus' rule, or even to the time of the triumvirate.¹² No one is named as an approval-granting authority for the erection of the monument. Also dating back to the first years of Augustus' reign is the equally impressive monument built in honor of L. Aelius Lamia, who was involved in Hispania Citerior as *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, between 25/24 and 22 bc. This monument is documented by eight individual inscriptions, all of which must have belonged to one and the same monument which included an image of the honorand, Aelius Lamia. The monument was displayed in the *porticus ad nationes* at Largo Argentina.¹³ Here too no one is credited for having granted the right to erect the honorary monument in this public portico. Although the act of honoring these members of the Roman ruling class was the sole initiative of the cities in the provinces, the monuments themselves could be erected in the public space of Rome. This seems to

¹² CIL 6.1508 = 41054. For the reconstruction of the inscription, see Eck 1984b; there I postulated a statue group with the figure of the proconsul in the center and surrounded by the personifications of the cities as the most likely configuration (thus not *without* the statue of the honorand, as G. Alföldy [CIL 6.8.3, p. 4891 right column] understood my proposition). On the date and location where the monument was erected, see Alföldy 2001: 16.

¹³ CIL 6.8.3, 41033–41041; cf. Alföldy 2001: 16 ff.

speak in favor of a continuation of the tradition established during the Republic.

But this was sure to change quickly. Based on what we know today, all the honorary statues that continued to be erected in the public sphere depended both on the permission of the senate and on the explicit or implicit consent of the respective *princeps*. This holds true for the nine statues erected in honor of the city prefect L. Volusius Saturninus, the city prefect who died in 56, as well as for the honorary monuments put up in Trajan's Forum for the commanders who had fought in the Dacian wars of 101–6 or in the wars waged under Marcus Aurelius. In all these cases it was the emperor himself who initiated the approval procedure in the senate. The locations chosen for individual monuments varied, depending on the exploit to which homage was being paid. It is therefore not coincidental that the *statua auguralis* erected in honor of L. Volusius Saturninus was placed in the *Regia*.¹⁴ Nor is it without consequence that Lucius Vitellius, consul for the third time under Claudius in 47, was honored posthumously for his *pietas immobilis erga principem* with a portrait on the *rostra* (Suet. *Vit.* 3.1); it was not in vain that he repeatedly put his rhetorical skills in the service of the emperor. But all these acts of reverence came about in relation to the emperor: he was the one allotting space in the city. Only that which met with his approval could be carried out.

A senator who wished to act somewhat more independently could choose between two other spatial contexts: (i) his own living quarters in the city of Rome or in one of his *villae* outside the city, or (ii) the cities of Italy and the provinces, especially the place from which his family originally came. Indeed, many senators used these spaces extensively. This is clearly demonstrated by the number of inscriptions which accompanied honorary statues. Many of the inscriptions which have survived come from Rome and belong to the private sphere, primarily because of the status of the person who made the dedication, but also because of the places where these inscriptions were discovered. Statues and bases from private contexts were hardly tampered with and could therefore survive more easily alongside the original inscriptions.¹⁵ In contrast, the bases of many statues which had previously been displayed in public places or in the halls of public buildings in Rome were often, already in late antiquity, reused and in the process acquired new inscriptions on top of the old ones. For modern

¹⁴ Eck 1972: 469 ff. (= Eck 1996: 125 ff.). Cf. *AE* 1972, 174; *AE* 1982, 63 = *CIL* 6.8.3, 41075a.

¹⁵ See, most recently, Alföldy 2001: 42 ff.; Eck 2005: 12 ff.

scholars this makes them unreliable as sources of information about their original purpose.

Initially, therefore, many more statues populated public spaces. But even if we take this fact into consideration, we are still left with the impression that, since late Augustan times, the majority of statues erected in Rome for living persons belonged to the private sphere. Dedications were made by family members, freedmen and slaves, *clientes* and *amici*, but also by former subalterns of officials such as tribunes or centurions like those for Cornelius Pusio on the Quirinal Hill or Marius Maximus on the Caelian Hill. Finally, many communities in Italy and above all in the provinces also contributed to this. For them, there was simply no chance that the emperor or the senate would ever allot them a *locus publicus*. So far there is no clear evidence whether it was possible to present statues in front of a senator's house in Rome. It follows that their only option was private space, namely the atrium of a house, or the peristyle, or even the garden of the person being honored. Perhaps it was precisely to this end that a new statuary form was developed, brilliant examples of which come from Rome in the early days of the empire.

The so-called *trapezophora* from Rome, which often carry inscriptions, have been well known for some time now. Two examples should suffice here. First, two such *trapezophora* were found on the Esquiline in Rome, in the private quarters of a senator (CIL 6.31742, 31743). The inscription on the first one reads as follows (fig. 3.1):

P(ublio) Numicio | Picae Caesiano | praef(ecto) equitum, | VVir(o), q(uaestori) pro pr(aetore) | provinciae Asiae, tr(ibunus) pl(ebis), | provincia Asia.

The second specimen carries an almost identical inscription:

P(ublio) Numicio Picae | Caesiano praef(ecto) equitum, | VVir(o), q(uaestori) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Asiae, | tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) | P. Cornelius Rufinus, Gaius Autronius Carus, | Lucius Pomponius Aeschines, Sextus Aufidius Euhodus, | Quintus Caspidienus Nedymus, Titus Manlius Inventus, | Gaius Valerius Albanus, Sextus Aufidius Primigenius | patrono.

A further pair of such *trapezophora* comes from a *villa* on the via Ostiense; one of the two pieces bears the following inscription (CIL 6.8.3, 41045):

L. Cassio Longino co(n)s(uli), | XVVir(o) sacris faciundis, | legato pro pr(aetore) divi Augusti, | legato propr(aetore) Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti, | Sextani Arelatenses | patrono.

also came from this province. Both examples date to the early days of the Principate, since Cassius Longinus was most probably the suffect consul of 11 BC; on account of his function as *praefectus equitum*, Numicius Pica can only be situated in the Augustan age. The function of these *trapezophora* is not altogether clear. A recurrent hypothesis has been that they might have served as repositories for gifts and maybe even busts. But this is not convincing (Eck and von Hesberg 1984). Against this interpretation is the fact that, in this scenario, the long side of the tables would have faced the viewer – a position which, from the onlooker's point of view, would have obscured the inscription. The inscription would in that case have been positioned on the right- or left-hand side, where no one would have been able to see it. This does not conform to the intentions of those who commissioned the *trapezophora* and made the dedication. It was also in the interest of the person being honored that the very fact of his being honored was made visible. This means that the *trapezophora* must have been positioned with the inscription in full view, and that that which had been held to be the side of the table now becomes its front. Something could also be discerned above the inscribed slab, which could only have been a statue, and, more precisely, an equestrian statue. The legs of the horse were positioned right above the sculpted legs under the slab. Indeed, such an arrangement is known from the north Italian city of Brescia,¹⁶ and an inscription from Augusta Taurinorum (*CIL* 5.7021), which is chiseled into a similarly shaped stone, comments *expressis verbis* on just such a *statua equestris*.¹⁷

What does this mean for the thematic focus of this volume? Obviously, this type of under-life-size equestrian statue had been developed with the private sphere in mind, because such a statue – unlike the much heavier and bigger type of proper public *statua equestris* – seemed better suited for the ambience inside a residence or small park. On the one hand, one did not want to give up the prominent practice of honoring someone by means of an equestrian statue; but, on the other hand, at least in the city of Rome, one no longer had at one's disposal the kind of vast public space in the Forum or in front of a temple that could easily have accommodated a life-size equestrian statue on a solid base. By contrast, the much lighter base on two stanchions integrated itself easily into the ambience of a senatorial house.

Caesar is believed to have said that he would much rather rank first in a small Spanish village than second in Rome (Plut. *Caes.* 11). Most senators did

¹⁶ *Inscr. Ital.* 10.1.232 (with ill.); cf. Bergemann 1990: 123 ff., Nr. E 13, Beil. 4 b Taf. 95a.

¹⁷ For greater detail on these monuments, see Eck and von Hesberg 2004.

not look so severely upon their situation in the capital. After all, they were all equally exposed to the ubiquity of imperial power and had to abide by certain restrictions. There was no other choice but to quickly become accustomed to this situation. Still, it is clear that many senators saw in the cities of Italy and, increasingly, in those of the provinces a possibility to sidestep this rule and achieve something that was no longer possible in Rome. It should suffice to mention here the edifices which served the purpose of displaying euergetism and of guaranteeing lasting glory and fame. In cities outside Rome one usually competed solely with persons of one's own status or maybe with members of the municipal aristocracy. Generally speaking, the emperor's presence there was very limited. Claiming public space for oneself was therefore unproblematic. A case in point is Pliny the Younger, who not only had baths built in Comum, which he then decorated with all kinds of precious ornaments, but who also built a library (or his baths) and started a foundation that would provide for the preservation of the two constructions. He was probably also the one who decided that his library should be provided with the famous inscription in which, alongside his *cursus honorum*, he presents his *res gestae* vis-à-vis his *res publica*, his *patria* Comum.¹⁸ By his reasoning, all this would keep his *memoria* alive – and time would prove him right. We find a similar attitude in Nonius Balbus, whose euergetic activities focused on Herculaneum, which he preferred to his native city Nuceria. He had contributed financially to the construction of the theater, a special kind of *locus celeberrimus* in which many statues of him were on display, having been dedicated by various cities, among them also communities of the province Crete–Cyrene which he had once governed. Many equestrian statues of him also stood in the streets of the city, in one case even next to an urban *arcus* that physically forced the passer-by to face the statues.¹⁹

Another example takes us even further, because it clearly demonstrates that in a provincial city the competition with the emperor for public space was of no consequence. The consular Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus from Sardis patronized the construction of an imposing library in the vicinity of the lower agora of the city of Ephesus.²⁰ The mighty façade of his library overshadowed all the edifices in its proximity, even the entrance gate to the lower agora (figs. 3.2–3.3). The latter was a monument made in honor of Augustus and Agrippa, the two founders of the Principate.²¹ Yet obviously no one took offence at the fact that the new construction, which was additionally

¹⁸ CIL 5.5262 = ILS 2927; cf. Alföldy 1999 and Eck 2001b for the specific purpose of the inscription.

¹⁹ See Pappalardo 2005, with relevant bibliography.

²⁰ Wilberg *et al.* 1953; Hueber and Strocka 1975. ²¹ *Inscr. Eph.* 7.1.3006; cf. Alzinger 1974.

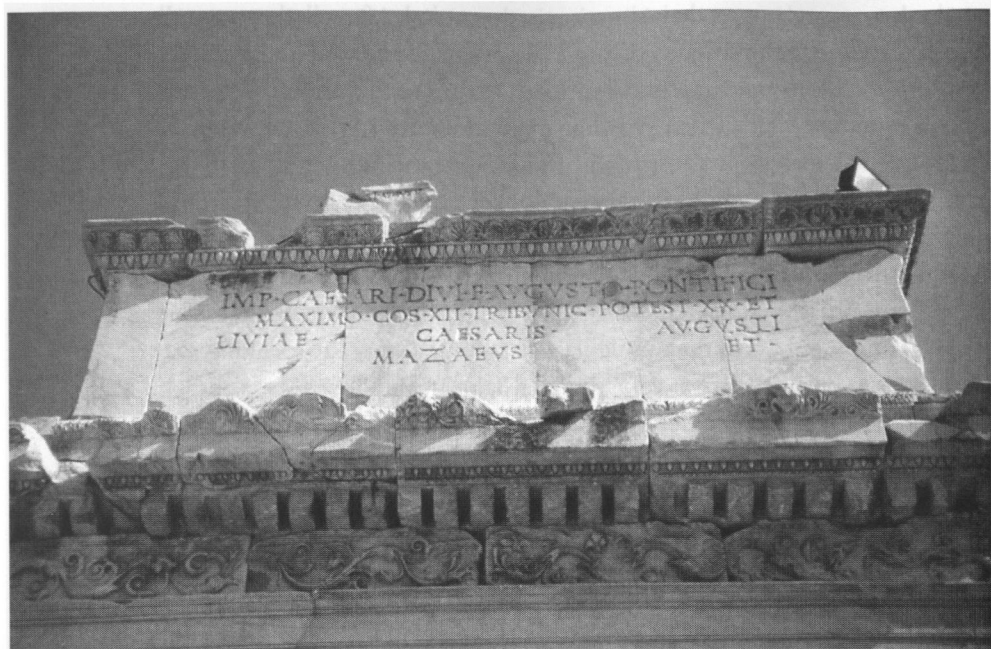


Fig. 3.2 Left part of the dedicatory inscription of the gate at the lower agora, Ephesus.

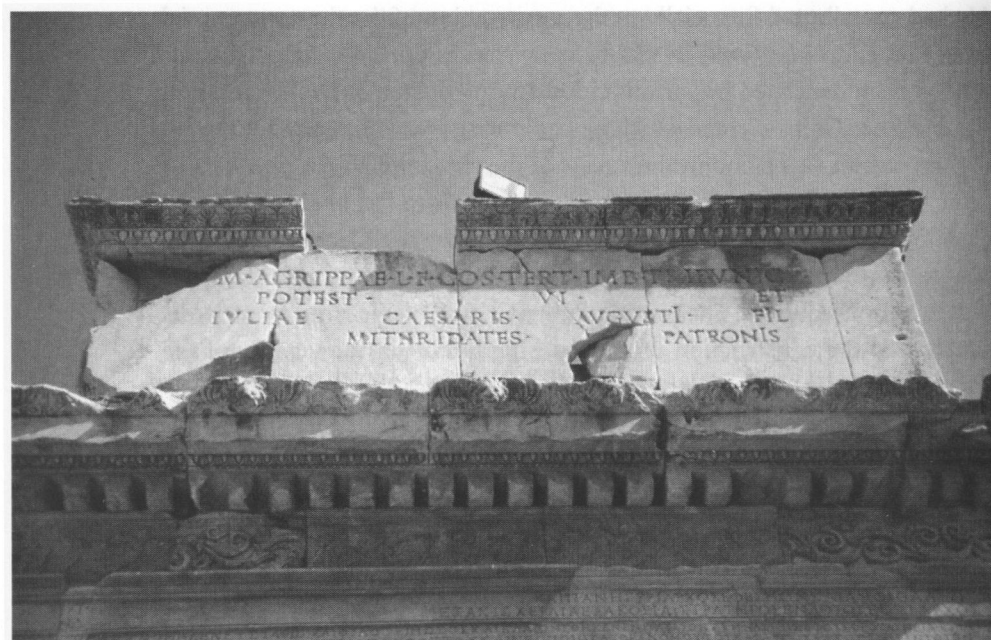


Fig. 3.3 Right part of the dedicatory inscription of the gate at the lower agora, Ephesus.

destined to become Celsus' burial site, surpassed the greatest monument erected in the center of Ephesus in honor of Augustus. As far we can tell, monuments of the kind that the great Roman families had once erected in Rome for their own fame and had named after themselves but that no longer seemed possible there since Augustus could now be built in the cities of the provinces. What had become impossible in Rome itself could be experienced without fear in the public sphere of provincial towns and cities.

It was also there that the acts of honoring individual senators continued in a manner reminiscent of the practice prevalent in Rome during the Republic. Examples of this abound. C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus, a senator from Pergamon during the time of Trajan and consul for the second time in 105 (*PIR*² J 507), received (by our surely limited count) at least twenty-five statues in his home city. Everywhere in the city reference was made to its famous son. The statues had been dedicated partly by individual persons who wanted to express their admiration, partly by the home city itself, but also by cities in various provinces which Iulius Quadratus had once governed. Even more senators were honored well into the third century in provinces which they had previously administered. Ephesus, a provincial capital, was once overfilled with such honorary monuments. Caesarea Maritima experienced a similar agglomeration, and so did Tarraco in the province of Hispania Citerior. But there were also other centers such as Perge in Pamphylia, Lepcis Magna, and Thamugadi in Africa Proconsularis which offered senators and their relatives the opportunity to transform public spaces into places for self-representation and for their *memoria*.²² In the forum of Thamugadi, the colony erected a *biga*, if not even a *quadriga*, for the *clarissimus puer* C. Annius Arminius Donatus. Similar monuments were dedicated to two legates of the legio III Augusta: A. Larcus Priscus under Trajan, and P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus under Severus Alexander. This would not be worth mentioning were it not for the fact that these honorary statues were erected in the immediate proximity of monuments which have a similar appearance but which memorialize emperors, such as Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, or Caracalla.²³ Apparently, it did not occur to anyone that such a spatial arrangement could

²² Ephesus: *Inscr. Eph.* II; Caesarea Maritima: Lehmann and Holum 2000 (there are more unpublished inscriptions of this type); Tarraco: Alföldy 1975; *Inscr.* Perge (Şahin 1999 and 2004); Lepcis Magna: Reynolds and Ward-Perkins 1952. See also, for the whole empire, Erkelenz 2003: 255 ff.

²³ Wesch-Klein in Zimmer 1989: 70–78, with the inscription for A. Larcus Priscus (T 4), P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus (T 12, T 18), and the inscriptions for the emperors (T 21, 23).

possibly create an illegitimate competition between these two groups of persons.

However attractive the cities of Italy and the provinces were for many senators, as a space in which they could freely pursue their dreams of personal prestige and long-lasting *memoria*, the city of Rome and its immediately surrounding area continued to be the center for most members of the ruling class. This is the way things had to be, even if only for practical reasons. Every senator was legally bound to Rome, for it was his *patria*, and was obliged to attend all senate meetings until his 65th birthday. Therefore, continued presence in Rome was a necessity for all senators unless they were detained in the provinces on official business (Eck 1997a and 1997b).

This also implied that, by necessity, they had to obtain an adequate residence in the city. Since, to a certain extent, every senator was a public person with social responsibilities deriving from his position, his house also had to correspond to these conditions. Persons of similar rank had to be greeted, and in some cases official obligations were to be fulfilled in one's own house. So, for instance, the *magistri* of the Arval brothers held some meetings of the *confratres* in their own *domus* (Scheid 1990: 639 ff.). Even if there existed no specific rules as to what such a house should look like, a certain size and adequate ornamentation of the *domus* were self-understood. This generally qualified the respective houses, which one might better characterize with the Italian word *palazzi*, as some of the larger and better-built residences in Rome. As such, they are also sure to have contributed greatly to the overall image of the city.

Concrete examples of senatorial houses are known to us at most in rudimentary form. Nevertheless, the general social expectations that applied to the residences of Rome's leading sociopolitical stratum correspond to this evidence (von Hesberg 2005). For instance, Martial describes the *domus* of Sex. Iulius Sparsus, suffect consul in 88 and possible relative of Sex. Iulius Frontinus, as *rus in urbe*, a property whose extent was such that the owner could organize chariot races just as in a circus and without being noticed by anyone (12.57.18 ff.). An urban *villa* was excavated on the Caelian which most likely belonged to Marius Maximus, a senator in Severan times and consul for the second time in 223. Four bases for statues in his honor are known from Rome; all of them were commissioned by persons who, at different stages in Marius Maximus' career, had been his subalterns in the provinces. Three of these bases were discovered on the Caelian in the perimeter of this *villa*, which can thus clearly be associated with this leading member of the senate. Excavations, unfortunately not very well documented, have brought to light a spacious peristyle, rooms with

apsidioles, and most valuable columns of porphyry and pink granite.²⁴ Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a close friend of Tiberius who was accused of having killed Germanicus in the East, returned in November of AD 20 from his province of Syria to Rome, where a trial awaited him. But his demeanor upon returning to Rome was not quite that of an indicted man. His house, described by Tacitus as *domus foro imminens* (*Ann.* 3.9.3), towered between the Arx and Quirinal, directly at the Porta Fontinalis (Eck, Caballos, and Fernández 1996: 207 ff.), and, upon Piso's return to Rome, was brightly lit and festively decorated. It stood out so jarringly that the mistrustful inhabitants of the city perceived this entire spectacle with great displeasure. And as Tacitus notes, because the place was so prominent, nothing remained hidden.²⁵

Despite the fact that not all *domus* of senatorial families stood out from their surroundings in the same way, they must still have dominated the city panorama even if for no other reason than their presence in many parts of Rome.²⁶ There were 600 senators, most of whom owned residences that enhanced their self-representation. One should further bear in mind that senators usually came from the ranks of the affluent families of the empire. This relative homogeneity among senators in economic terms was achieved by means of the minimum capital of 1 million sesterces that each senator had to verify that he possessed. Not all senators wanted to hide their riches. Hence, the great majority of senatorial houses demonstrated who occupied the leading position in society along with the emperor. Not even the emperor could resist the wish of this ruling class for adequate self-representation. And why should he have done so? After all, most of his high and highest office bearers came from these families.

In an important respect, however, the presence of senators in the overall image of the city was clearly disrupted. Initially, the prominent senatorial families had been present in the center of the city, at the heart of political life. They had even built their houses there in order to be close to the actual places of action. Through this residential location one also aimed at making an impression on the people, i.e., the voters, even if one did not follow Caesar's example of moving directly into the Subura. But the area surrounding the Forum was favored, and even more so the slopes leading up to the Palatine, as well as the Palatine itself. Just as public building had served as an arena of competition among members of the senatorial aristocracy, so too were private *domus* mobilized in order to strengthen the public status of their owners and give a boost to their career. So, for instance, Cicero informs us

²⁴ Maximus inscriptions: *CIL* 6.1450–1453; for his house, *LTUR* 2: 137 ff. (Guidobaldi).

²⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 3.9.3: *celebritate loci nihil occultum*; cf. Eck 1995.

²⁶ See, with more details, Eck 1997a; cf. also Panciera 2003.

that a *domus praeclara et plena dignitatis* on the Palatine helped the *homo novus* Cn. Octavius secure the consulate for himself in the year 165 BC. In order to strengthen his own position, Cicero himself had paid 3½ million sesterces for a house on the Palatine previously owned by Licinius Crassus. Cicero claimed that this house on the Palatine was *in conspectu prope totius urbis*. Not far from him, M. Aemilius Scaurus, aedile in 58 BC, equipped his atrium in that same year with eleven-meter-high columns of Lucullan marble.²⁷ The display of such luxury was intended to advance his career (Hölkeskamp 1996).

Already under Augustus, parts of the Palatine were co-opted for the exclusive use of the new ruler. Throughout the following decades, which witnessed the building of the impressive edifices of Tiberius and Caligula, more and more senatorial families left the hill. But this does not appear to have occurred under compulsion. News of such individual families on the Palatine extends into Neronian times. It was not until the devastating fire of 64, when many parts of the city and many senatorial houses were destroyed, and when Nero wanted to occupy the entire city center with his grandiose *domus aurea*, that he seems to have compelled the last remaining families to leave the Palatine. Many others had evacuated the center in previous decades as a result of the extensive civil works around the Republican Forum and on the Capitol. The hills to the north, but also the Caelian and the Aventine, offered more space for generous constructions (Eck 1997a).

To a certain extent, therefore, the city appeared almost divided between the center, dominated by the emperors and their edifices, and the somewhat peripheral locations on the hills (Quirinal, Viminal, Caelian, and Aventine), where the grand housing estates of the senators were located, especially from the Flavian period. A genuine competition with the imperial edifices of the city could hardly develop there. Given their location, no political pretense could be associated with these *domus*, as was suggested on the contrary by the phrase *domus foro imminens*, which Tacitus employs several times in connection with some senatorial houses. All three cases mentioned by Tacitus refer to houses owned by senators of the Julio-Claudian dynasty: the house, already mentioned, of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 7 BC (*Hist.* 3.70.1); the house of L. Vitellius, brother of the later emperor (*Ann.* 3.9.3); and the house of M. Iulius Vestinus Atticus, suffect consul in 65 (*Ann.* 15.69.1). In the case of Vestinus Atticus, Tacitus provides the alternate description *arx* for the *imminentes foro aedes*, and not without good reason:

²⁷ For Cn. Octavius, see Cic. *Off.* 1.138; cf. *LTUR* 2: 147 (Papi). For Cicero's house on the Palatine, *LTUR* 2: 90 (Papi); Cic. *Dom.* 100. For Scaurus, above, n. 4.

for Vestinus Atticus stood in sharp opposition to Nero. The designation of *imminentes foro aedes* as *arx* suggests how enmity could find expression in public space. For the most part, the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty also precipitated the end of this type of confrontation.

Rivalry could also extend from the world of the living into that of the dead, on and through tombs. An excellent case in point is the reaction of Pliny the Younger upon encountering, on the via Tiburtina, the pretentious tomb of M. Antonius Pallas, freedman and *a rationibus* of the emperor Claudius. Pliny's actual discontent was triggered by the inscription on the tomb, which, following Pallas' wishes, reiterated a *senatus consultum* that had already been publicized in the city. The Trajanic senator is angered by the servility of the Julio-Claudian senate, by the insolence of the *Augusti libertus*, but also by the fact that Pallas made all of this public once more on his tomb.²⁸ The Trajanic senator could have likewise been angered by the monumental tomb erected by Epaphroditus, another imperial *libertus*, precisely in the *horti Epaphroditiani*, the freedman's gardens up on the Esquiline. This tomb made boastful references to the *dona militaria* given to Epaphroditus in recognition of his merits in exposing the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero. The tomb inscription alone was more than five meters wide.²⁹ Tombs could formulate claims and communicate messages. This held all the more true for the tombs of members of the ruling class. (See figs. 3.4–3.8.)

In the late Republic and even at the outset of the Augustan era, tombs represented an almost aggressive means of expression in the competition among various senatorial families. It was primarily *tumulus* tombs of impressive heights that served this purpose, a few examples of which include the tomb of Munatius Plancus near Gaeta, the tomb of the Plautii (fig. 3.7) near Tivoli, the round tomb of the knight Lucilius Paetus on the via Flaminia north of the Campus Martius, and the Pyramid of Cestius.³⁰ But the monumental round tomb would quickly lose its function as a means of asserting one's political claims. After the mausoleum of Augustus had been built, this type of tomb seems to have become something like an imperial privilege, not least because of its size.³¹ Nobody would dare compete with it.

Such competition was possible only with members of one's own class and with other social groups.³² Important elements in this context were the size

²⁸ Plin. *Ep.* 7.29, 8.6. In an unpublished study, Johannes Heinrichs has arrived at a radical reassessment of this whole event in the reign of Claudius.

²⁹ Eck 1976; cf. *LTUR* 5: 289 (Eck).

³⁰ For the different types of large mausolea, see Eisner 1986; von Hesberg 1992: 55 ff., 231 ff.

³¹ Von Hesberg and Panciera 1994; cf. von Hesberg 1992: 100.

³² Over the course of the entire imperial period, senators clearly did not privilege particular places along the arterial roads of Rome for the erection of their funerary monuments; rather,

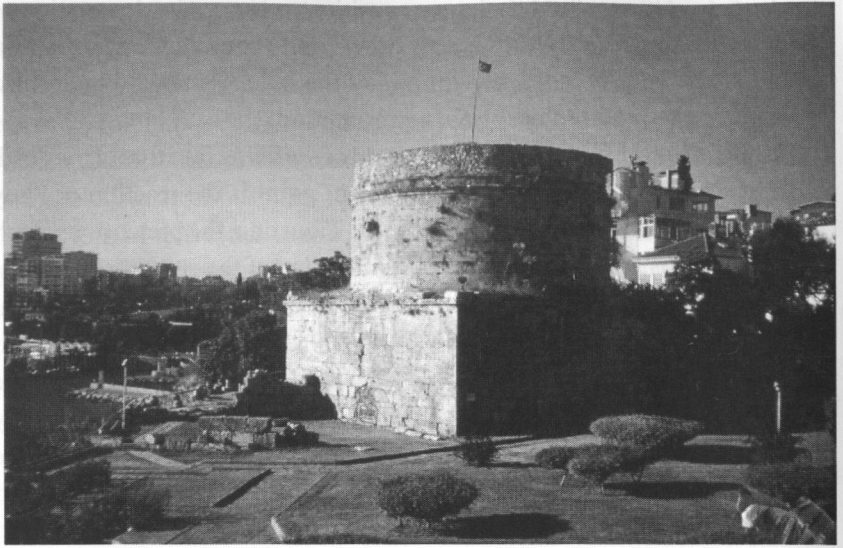


Fig. 3.4 Circular tomb, for a senator of consular rank. Antalya.

of the funerary buildings as well as their decoration with precious materials and the insignia of one's affiliation, sometimes even statuary groups or striking inscriptions.³³ The latter were displayed either directly on the tomb or, as in the case of a family mausoleum such as that of the Plautii, in front of it, announcing the achievements of the family to the public (fig. 3.8). A unitary form or norm never arose; it all depended on the personal decisions of individual patrons (Feraudi-Gruénais 2005). The only thing that seems to have disappeared from the main roads leading out of Rome and from Italy in general is extraordinary monumentality in the form of large *tumulus* tombs.

Remarkable and monumental structures were, nevertheless, still possible in the provinces. C. Iulius Philopappus commissioned the construction in Athens of a monumental relief-decorated tomb that could be seen from such distant locations as the Hill of the Muses.³⁴ The son of L. Aninius Sextius Florentinus, who died in 127 during his term in office as praetorian governor of the province of Arabia, commissioned the construction in Petra

the monuments always stood mixed among those of other social groups; on this, see Faßbender 2005, esp. 74 ff.

³³ It is surely no coincidence that, among all the tomb sizes for the social groups compiled by Faßbender (2005: 105), the largest tomb area is attested for a senatorial family (*CIL* 6.1396 = *ILS* 8343; Faßbender 2005: 302). This also accords with the fact that most higher-than-average funerary altars can be demonstrably linked with senators: see Eck 1998, 2001c.

³⁴ *PIR*² J 151; *CIL* 3.552 = *ILS* 845.2. See also Schäfer 1989: 380.

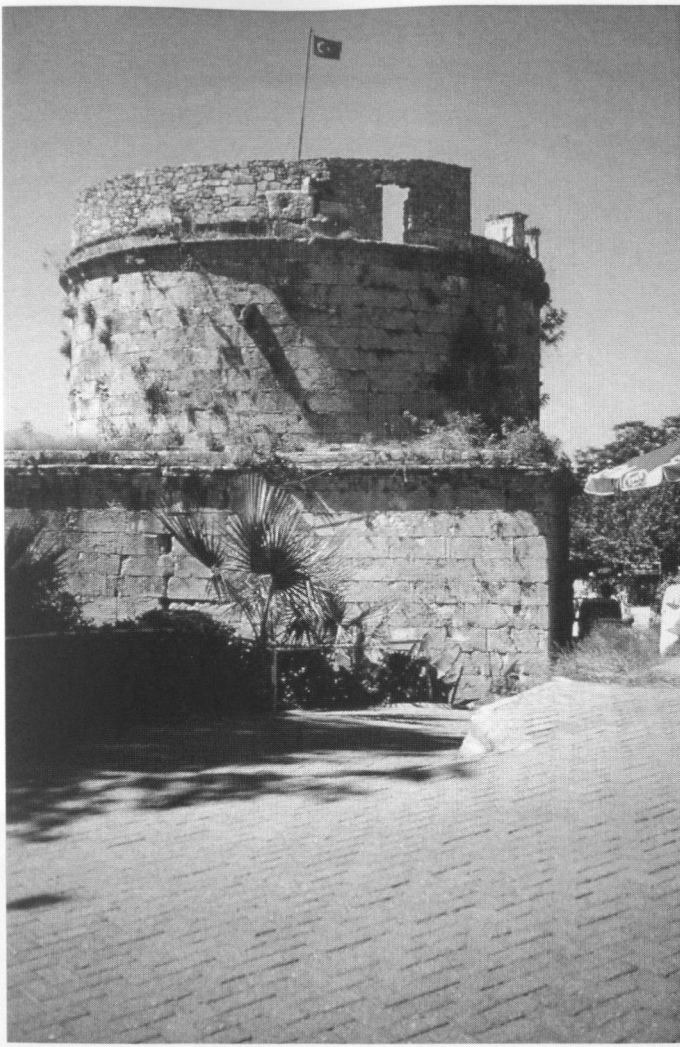


Fig. 3.5 Circular tomb, for a senator of consular rank. Antalya.

of an imposing rock-cut tomb for his father.³⁵ I have already mentioned the impressive library of Celsus Polemaeanus, which also served as a burial site for his sarcophagus (above, p. 99). Similarly, an anonymous senator from Attaleia in Pamphylia, also of consular rank, built a monumental tomb on a rock high above the entrance to the port of the city. The twelve *fasces*

³⁵ See *CIL* 3.14148.10 = *IGLSyr.* 21, 51. See McKenzie 1990: 165 ff.; Amadasi Guzzo and Schneider 1998: 192 ff.; Netzer 2003: 33 ff. It is, however, possible that the son usurped a preexisting tomb for his father; cf. Freyberger 1991 (I wish to thank R. Wenning for these references). Even if this were so, the underlying mentality would still be the same.



Fig. 3.6 Circular tomb, for a senator of consular rank. Antalya. Detail with *fasces* on either side of the tomb's entrance.



Fig. 3.7 Tomb of the Plautii, Tivoli.

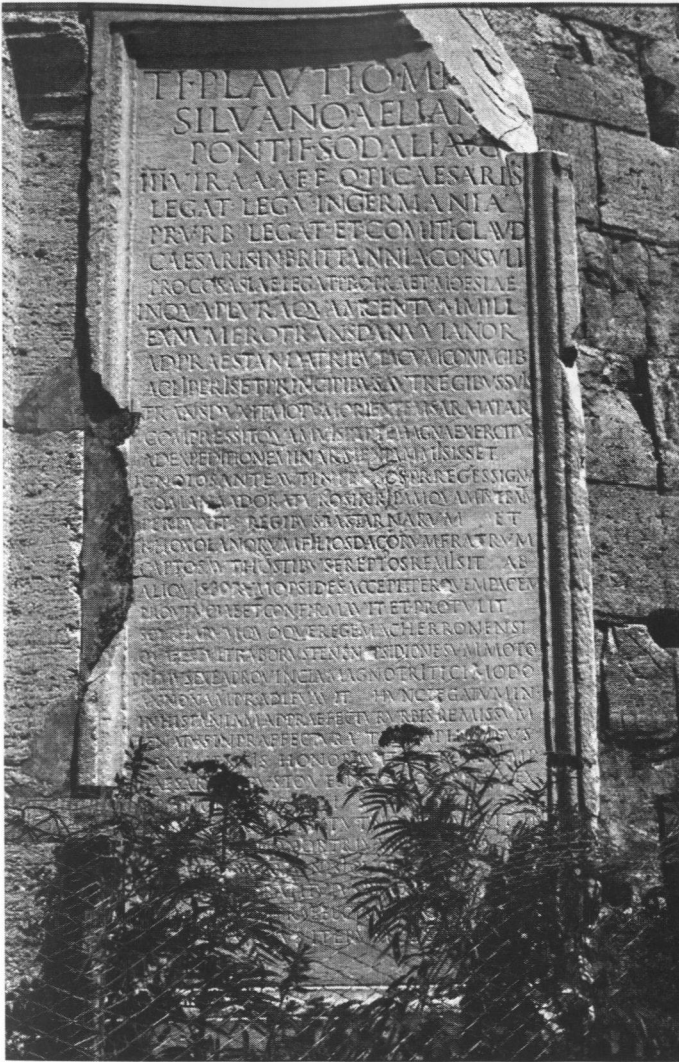


Fig. 3.8 Funerary inscription, Tomb of the Plautii, Tivoli.

displayed on the façade of this tomb clearly evoked the specific rank of the senator within the imperial aristocracy.³⁶ Perhaps the choice of tomb locations by the aforementioned persons was influenced by their desire to escape possible competition in the public space of Rome. Ranking first in a city in the provinces may have appeared more attractive even after death

³⁶ Schäfer 1989: 373 ff.; Stupperich 1991.

than the relative uniformity to which one was exposed in Rome through the presence of the emperor and persons of one's own rank.

A senator who was important to the emperor for personal or political reasons could also use public space in Rome for himself or his family, during his lifetime or after his death. This was especially true during the early Principate. After the death of his senatorial friend Lucilius Longus (*PIR*² L 389), the only one of his fellow class members to have accompanied him in exile to Rhodes, Tiberius provided a *funus censorium* with all the paraphernalia required by such an event, despite Lucilius' status as a mere *homo novus*. Possibly upon Seneca's advice, Nero undertook a similar initiative after the death of the city prefect Volusius Saturninus in AD 56, for whose state funeral a *iustitium* was specially proclaimed and in whose *memoria* nine different statues were put up in various places around the city.³⁷ Another friend of Tiberius, Calpurnius Piso, the alleged murderer of Germanicus, was present in the public squares of Rome through several statues, all of them erected during his lifetime. At his trial all these statues were toppled by the irate people. In response to this, Tiberius ordered the praetorians to intervene and restore the statues to their previous places, at least until the trial ended.³⁸

All the aforementioned examples demonstrate that the outcome of the competition between the ruler and the senatorial élite for public space within Rome was decided quite early. Because he was omnipresent, the emperor always had the last word. But this did not spell the end of public representation. Every senator who wanted more such opportunities continued to have at his disposal the public spaces of the cities of Italy and of the provinces. The Imperium Romanum was larger than Rome.

³⁷ Eck 1972 (= Eck 1996: 175 ff.); cf. *CIL* 6.8.3, 41075a.

³⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 3.14.4; cf. Eck, Caballos, and Fernández 1996: 194 ff.

Public monuments from Augustus to Septimius Severus

EMANUEL MAYER

The emperor's image is a popular subject in Roman studies across disciplinary boundaries. With the renewed interest in the government of the Roman empire, the rich corpus of emperors' portraits and honorific monuments has frequently been mined for illustrating and reconstructing imperial policy. Relief-decorated arches and columns in the city of Rome are often believed to present an "official" summary of complex historical processes and thus to reflect the imperial view, an assumption that makes visual evidence attractive to ancient historians. Unlike literary sources, which frequently engage in posthumous character assassination, or epigraphic evidence, which usually allows only glimpses into the management of local affairs, "official monuments" seem to fill a gap in the historical record felt all the more keenly because of the lack of imperial narratives such as the unique *res gestae Divi Augusti*. The possibility that visual evidence might reflect or even constitute a tool of imperial propaganda has proven so convenient that it is widely accepted:¹ even though all the monuments in question were nominally erected by the senate and other political entities, the emperor had to accept them as a personal honor, and therefore obviously approved of how they praised and commemorated his achievements. The prominence that monuments such as the Arch of Titus or the Column of Trajan enjoyed in Rome over the ages made it seem unimaginable that the emperor would not have wanted to control the way he was represented. It has therefore been tacitly assumed that he was directly involved in the design of "his" monuments. The focus of discourse theory on the economy of power and the strong public interest in the packaging of contemporary politics have also contributed to a climate in which it seems perfectly reasonable to presuppose that Roman emperors carefully monitored and manipulated the way they were praised by others.

This is a problematic assumption. Labeling the culture of public praise "propaganda" or reducing it to a subtle game of "staged applause" raises the question of agency. How precisely did the emperors get their way? And why

¹ On the issue of propaganda, see the introductions by Weber and Zimmermann 2003: 11–40 and Enenkel and Pfeijfer 2005: 1–9 to their edited volumes.

did it matter that they were honored by others if they felt otherwise free to immortalize themselves through lavish buildings in Rome?² The surviving evidence indeed suggests that the economy of praise was not just a republican “fig leaf” coyly concealing imperial absolutism. Ephemeral images commissioned by individual emperors on unique and limited occasions such as triumphal processions or games have all but vanished; the arches, columns, and statues preserved in the archaeological record were erected by others in the *principes*’ honor. Neither literary sources nor the monuments themselves warrant the interpretation that Roman emperors exploited the culture of public praise to advocate, justify, or popularize their actions. This, however, does not mean that imperial *self-representation* is not reflected in the visual evidence. Unlike other ancient societies, Rome spawned a political caste whose members – in one way or another – depended on public approbation and were therefore eager to construct individualized public images. This did not change under the empire because of the construction of the Roman monarchy as a “restored Republic,” and it applied to the emperor more than to anybody else. What I would like to suggest is that the monuments in praise of Roman emperors were a reaction *towards* and not a tool of imperial self-representation, and that the emperors were praised and represented by different constituencies in diverse modes, not only because the emperor was perceived differently by individual groups, but also because he tailored his messages to suit specific audiences.

I. Imperial self-representation and local public praise

In the realm of images this claim seems to be belied by the omnipresence of standardized imperial portraits in all spheres of life. Copied from usually less than a handful of prototypes, the emperor’s portraits were not only set up in the form of honorific statues, but also put on coins and on private items such as seal stones and mirrors.³ The naturalism of the portraits suggested that they accurately represented a real person and also his conduct towards the people of Rome on a whole variety of occasions such as the games or on visits to the public baths (Millar 1977: 369–75). One of the achievements of German-dominated *Porträtforschung* has been to demonstrate the connection between the *persona* of the emperor’s portraits and

² On this issue, see Witschel 1996.

³ On the ubiquitousness of the emperor’s image, see Zanker 1979: 361; Ando 2000: 206–73. Small-scale imperial images across different media have recently been collected by Dahmen 2001.

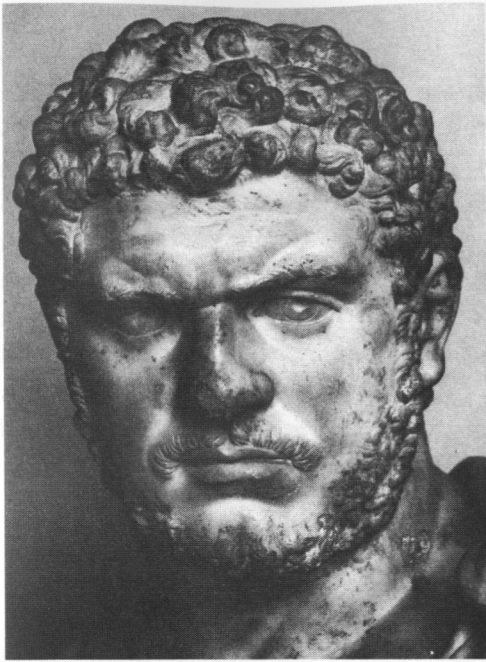


Fig. 4.1 Caracalla, Berlin.

contemporary socio-cultural currents by dealing with the images in their own right instead of using them to merely illustrate the literary record.⁴ Literature and imagery rarely match up closely, but when they do, they suggest that at least some emperors were eager to conjure up an idiosyncratic image of themselves: Caracalla, who fraternized with common soldiers and was – even in Rome – frequently seen wearing a military tunic, was portrayed with a short military haircut violently turning his neck and frowning (fig. 4.1).⁵ According to Dio, the emperor must indeed have tried to maintain an energetic and determined expression whenever he appeared in public, because he was ridiculed for always looking angry.⁶

The close connection between the *persona* of Roman emperors and their portraits, as well as the fact that these portraits were copied all over the empire after only a handful of prototypes, undoubtedly makes them an indispensable source for our understanding of imperial self-representation in the capital, where most of our evidence comes from and where the

⁴ On the basic methodology, Smith 1996.

⁵ On military imagery for emperors in the city of Rome, see Koortbojian, this volume.

⁶ Dio 77.1.2; cf. Wiggers 1971: 10–12.

prototypes must have been created.⁷ It is, however, important to stress that the emperor's three-dimensional portraits outside Rome were – unlike most coins – not produced in the capital and then distributed around the empire. Outside Rome, most imperial portraits were the business of patrons and sculptors who were not concerned with the interplay between the emperor and the constituencies in the capital. The local reception of imperial self-representation has been studied over the last twenty years and yielded important results in center–periphery studies.⁸ In more general terms, however, the research on “provincial” imperial imagery has also created a basis for explaining imperial monuments within Rome itself, socially, politically, and culturally. Distinct groups praised the emperor in a way that suited their particular relationship with the ruler; the *caput mundi* was in itself as diverse as the empire as a whole.

II. The emperor's image in the Greek East

Provincial imperial portraits often show a very different emperor from the Roman prototypes that inspired them. As Smith established a decade ago, this diversity is not primarily a result of technical difficulties in an “age before mechanical reproducibility,” but rather an expression of the attempt “to adapt . . . [imperial portraits] to different local ideas of the emperor's

⁷ On several possible, but hypothetical, models of distribution based on the analysis of archaeological evidence, see Pfanner 1989; Rose 1997: 57–59; Albertson 2005: 291–99. There is no doubt that Roman emperors did project a specific image of themselves through their publicly displayed behavior, their letters to individual communities, and many other “communicative actions,” as Ando 2000: 73–130 demonstrated. It is, however, striking that the sources remain silent about the distribution of imperial images until the fourth century. Paradoxically, the directly distributed portraits of later Roman emperors cannot be studied by the methods established for earlier centuries. What Ando 2000: 229–32 and others deduce from the literary evidence is invisible in the archaeological record. Portrait types seem to be absent and the identity of every single epigraphically unnamed imperial portrait is contested. In the new residences of the decentralized fourth-century empire, the *Augusti* were praised by their courtiers, who focused on the exploits of their masters. Their praises, like the representations of civil war, dwelled on the personal successes of the emperors, but not so much on the virtues which were relevant for the empire as a whole (Mayer 2006). It seems that the interest in individualized imperial portraits and the class-specific praise of imperial virtues remained only vibrant and meaningful as long as several constituencies perceived the *principes* as accessible and involved individuals running the empire according to their subjects' expectations – political realities notwithstanding. The different imperial roles were deeply rooted in the political ideals of pre-imperial times, and only with the emergence of the empire as a *communis patria*, when Roman emperors became independent of the city of Rome, the senate, and the *populus Romanus*, did a new situation arise which engendered novel images in the fourth century (Mayer 2002: 22–27).

⁸ Classic analysis by Zanker 1983.

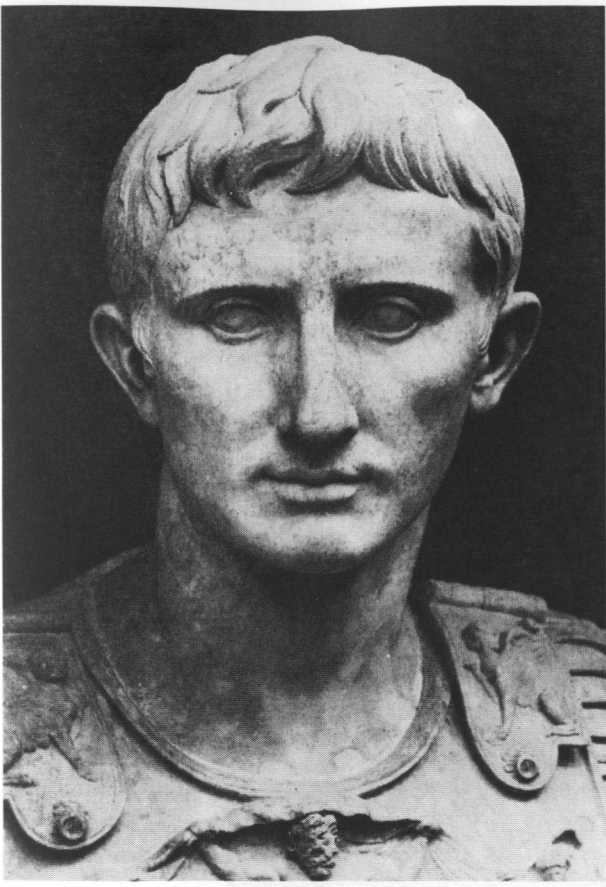


Fig. 4.2 Augustus Prima Porta.

role” (1996: 34). This is well documented for the Greek-speaking half of the empire, which produced many fine portraits that often deviated from their Roman models by likening the Roman *principes* to Hellenistic kings. Boschung has demonstrated this “Hellenizing” tendency in his studies on the 294 then known portraits of Augustus (1993a: 87–88).

Tellingly, many Greek versions of Augustus’ image were not commissioned in provincial backwaters where the emperor’s position in Rome – i.e., a *princeps* in a “restored Republic” – was not understood. In fact, many of the communities which commissioned “Hellenizing” portraits were well connected to the imperial family. This applies especially to Samos and Aphrodisias. On Samos two portraits of Augustus appear to be local works. Both heads derive from the *Prima Porta* (fig. 4.2) type but only one comes close to the famous statue from Livia’s villa. It shows Augustus, *capite velato*

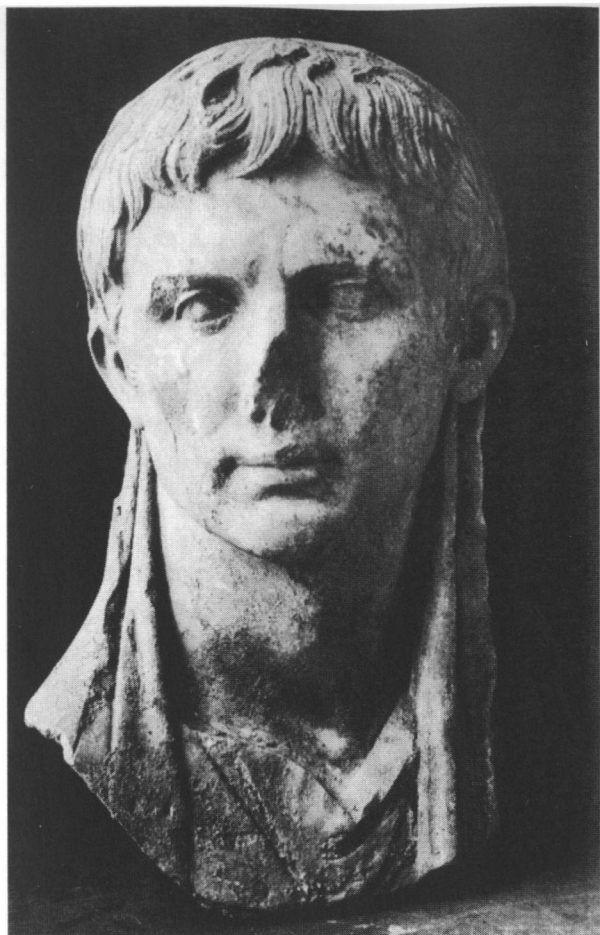


Fig. 4.3 Augustus *capite velato*, Samos.

and thus in the Roman *toga*, performing a sacrifice in a non-Greek manner (fig. 4.3).⁹ This genuine and, in Greek terms, “foreign” display of Roman *pietas* proves that the Samians had access to Roman prototypes and were capable of copying them accurately. The second portrait, however, demonstrates that they also felt free to elaborate on Roman models. In contrast to the *Prima Porta* statue, the Samian head is violently turned in an upward glance and shows Augustus with contracted brows and a slightly opened mouth (fig. 4.4).¹⁰ These formulaic facial expressions and also the features of the head itself hark back to the portraits of Hellenistic kings. The round, deep-set eyes, bulging forehead and full lips are a stock in trade of post-classical Greek sculpture.

⁹ Boschung 1993a: cat. no. 157; 173–174; pl. 176, 177.

¹⁰ Boschung 1993a: cat. no. 156; 173; pl. 76.2.3, 173.2.

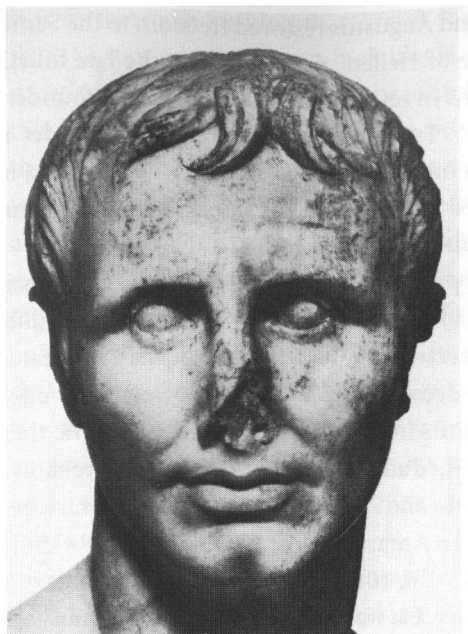


Fig. 4.4 Augustus, Samos.

This and other eastern portraits are not easily brushed aside as “regional.” The Samians in particular knew Augustus very well and had good reasons to liken him to a Greek king. Augustus had visited the island several times and when the Samians petitioned him to grant them political freedom (*eleutheria*) they knew how to lobby his wife Livia.¹¹ The first, and only surviving, letter from Augustus to the Samians, one granting them only tax exemption but not *eleutheria*, displays a proprietary attitude towards the island that suited a Hellenistic king but not the first citizen in a “restored Republic”:

You yourselves can see that I have given the privilege of freedom to no other people except the Aphrodisians, who took MY side in the war and were captured by storm because of their devotion to US. For it is not right to give the favor of the greatest privilege of all at random and without cause. I am well-disposed to you and should like to do a favor to my wife [Livia] who is active on your behalf, but not to the point of breaking MY custom. For I am not concerned about the money you pay as tribute, but I am not willing to give the most highly prized privileges to anyone without good cause.¹²

¹¹ On Augustus’ visits and a hypothetical identification of his house on Samos, see Donderer 1995: 641–43. On the process, Reynolds 1982: 104–06.

¹² Reynolds 1982: 104: “ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν ὅτι τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδένι δέδωκα δῆμῳ Ἀφροδεισιέων ὅς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας δοριάλωτος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν ἐγένετο· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν δίκαιον τὸ πάντων μέγιστον φιλάνθρωπον εἰκὴ καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας χαρίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν μὲν εὐνοῶ καὶ βουλομένην ἂν τῇ γυναικὶ μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν

Eventually Livia was successful and Augustus restored freedom to the Samians, a gesture in line with those of Hellenistic kings from the late fourth century BC onwards. The Samians in return hailed him as *ktistēs* (founder) and *sōtēr* (savior) of their city.¹³ From this and many other episodes it becomes clear that Augustus not only let his Greek subjects address him in their own way but also responded accordingly. The Greek face of Augustus may therefore very well be a result of his Greek voice.

The Hellenizing Samian head probably dates forty years into the Principate and might have been set up at a time when several prominent families of another “free” and well-connected city, Carian Aphrodisias, dedicated the famous Sebasteion, a richly decorated plaza which is frequently cited to illustrate Greek attitudes towards imperial rule (Smith 1987). The then reigning emperor Nero and his deified adoptive father, Claudius, were shown wrestling personifications of Britain and Armenia in a posture that mirrored images of a Greek hero defeating an Amazon, most notably Achilles’ victory over Penthesileia (Smith 1987: 115–20; 101–06). Augustus appeared next to a trophy and to the goddess Victory. He was not only shown with unusually fleshy and energetic features, but also completely nude – a feature completely absent in western non-statuary representations of the emperor.¹⁴

The discrepancy between the emperor’s image in the capital and in the provinces did not go unnoticed by Roman officials traveling in the provinces. In AD 130, the governor of Cappadocia, Flavius Arrianus, wrote to Hadrian about a statue of the emperor that had been erected close to Trapezus, right on the spot where Xenophon’s 10,000 had seen the sea again after their long march from Mesopotamia:

Your statue has been set up too; the work is appropriate in its attitude – pointing towards the sea – but neither looks like you nor is it otherwise beautiful. Do, therefore, send me a statue worthy to bear your name and in the same posture, for the spot is most appropriate for an eternal monument.¹⁵

This much-quoted passage proves not only that, in the provinces at least, prominent statues of the emperor were set up without his knowledge or that of his high officials, but also that their design was very much up to the locals.

σπουδαζούση χαρίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ οὐχ ὥστε καταλῦσαι τὴν συνήθειάν μου· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων μοι μέλει ἅ εἰς τὸν φόρον τελεῖτε [vacat] ἀλλὰ τὰ τειμιώτα φιλόανθρωπα χωρὶς αἰτίας εὐλόγου δέδωκέναι οὐδένι βούλομαι.” (Translation after Reynolds.)

¹³ Samian freedom: Dio 54.9.7; Plin. *NH* 5.135. On the honors for Augustus, cf. Dunst 1974: 121–24.

¹⁴ Smith 1987: 103; for nude depictions of the emperor, see now Hallett 2005b: ch. 5.

¹⁵ Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 1.3–4: “ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδριᾶς ἔστηκεν ὁ σός, τῷ μὲν σχήματι ἡδέως – ἀποδείκνυσιν γὰρ τὴν θάλατταν – τὴν δὲ ἐργασίαν οὕτε μοῖός σοι οὕτε ἄλλως καλός. ὥστε πέμψον ἀνδριάντα ἄξιον ἐπιονομάζεσθαι σὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ σχήματι, τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἐπιτηδεότατον εἰς μνήμην αἰώνιον.”

It is furthermore striking that Arrian is not content with the observation that the statue just does not look like Hadrian (οὔτε ὁμοίός σοι), but also mentions that it is not otherwise beautiful either (οὔτε ἄλλως καλός). Does this imply that Hadrian would have been content with a beautiful statue that did not look like him? Just like the itinerant Hadrian, the Greek Arrian was very well aware of the different modes of imperial praise in the Greek- and Latin-speaking parts of the empire, but as an astute Roman official, he emphasized his close connection with the emperor in his literary *oeuvre* by telling Hadrian, and his readers, that he knew the emperor well enough to be an authority on how Hadrian should be represented.¹⁶ Arrian also implies that there is one correct imperial image and that the emperor himself could be asked to provide it. He therefore suggests that the differences in the emperor's portrayal were just a matter of social proximity: the senators who knew him well had access to imperially approved images whereas the provincials did not.

As suggested earlier, this was untrue. Arrian's comments are senatorial. This becomes obvious when looking at the city of Rome itself, where the emperors of the first two centuries spent most of their time. In the capital, modes of imperial praise were deeply divided along social lines. On the one hand, nearly all emperors seem to have supported the claim of senators like Arrian that only members of the highest order knew how to represent them correctly; the senate was mostly encouraged to praise them as *primus inter pares* in a "restored Republic." On the other hand, emperors also allowed the lower classes to praise them in a way that defied that very concept. This can be shown both through the monuments themselves and through literary sources. Again the monuments in honor of Augustus provide an ideal starting point for this discussion.

III. The many faces of Augustus

No other Roman monument has been more often described as imperial "propaganda" than the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Most interpretations focus on the thematic similarity between the relief decoration and the works of the so-called "Augustan" poets and argue that the monument captured Augustus' vision of his Principate and celebrated the Golden Age he supposedly brought about.¹⁷ It is, however, important to stress that the monument

¹⁶ Most recent discussion of the passage by Ando 2000: 229.

¹⁷ The literature on the *Ara Pacis* is immense. Modern study begins from the monumental publication by Moretti 1948. The most influential interpretation is by Zanker 1987: 126–30, summarized and critiqued by Elsner 1991. For more recent bibliography, see Conlin 1997.

also breathes a strong senatorial and even Republican ethos. Augustus and most later emperors spoke with more than one voice. In the Greek East they imitated Hellenistic kings; in dealings with the senate they invoked Republican collegiality. The process that led to the commissioning of the *Ara Pacis* illustrates this point no less than the relief-decoration itself. In 13 BC, Augustus returned to Rome from Gaul and Spain after a long absence. Dio tells us that, in preparation for the emperor's arrival,

the senate convened, and among other decrees, voted to place an altar in the senate-chamber itself, to commemorate the return of Augustus, and also voted that those who approached him as suppliants while he was in the *pomerium* should not be punished. Nevertheless, he accepted neither of these honors, and even avoided encountering the people on this occasion also; for he entered the city at night. This he did nearly always, they say, whenever he went out into the suburbs or anywhere else, both on his way out and on his return, so he might trouble none of the citizens.¹⁸

Augustus therefore did not give the senate a chance to make a fuss about his return and reveal his special position in the state, and – unlike in the Greek East – he insisted that he was just a human being by denouncing an altar and a privilege that would have turned him into a walking cult statue. He agreed, however, to be honored through an altar that celebrated the *Pax Augusta*, the peace which he had brought about.

It has frequently been demonstrated that the *Ara Pacis Augustae* suited Augustus' ostentatious religious conservatism. Its modest dimensions, the allusion to a simple wooden structure, and the two entrances that evoked the ancient temple of Janus – whose doors Augustus was able to close after centuries of perpetual warfare – not only conjured up the rituals of the old Republic but also converged with Augustus' antiquarian interests (Simon 1986: 31–36). The four large panels on the small sides, which heralded an age of abundance and linked contemporary religious practice to the *pietas* of the mythical past, did homage to Augustus' achievements

Pollini 2002 suggests that the *Ara Pacis* was intended to propagate a *concordia familiarum* between the Julian clan and the other aristocratic families of Rome. Augustus' monuments in general are claimed to be a tool of imperial propaganda and deliberately pitched at "informed and highly educated viewers." This idea is vaguely reminiscent of Hölscher's more refined model of an aristocratic "target group" (1984: 10–12).

¹⁸ Dio 54.25.3–4: "ἦ τε γὰρ βουλή ἡθροίσθη, καὶ ἔδοξε σφίσιςιν ἄλλα τε καὶ βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπανάδου ποιήσασθαι, τοῖς τε ἱκετεύσασιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ὄντα ἀδειαν εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδέξατο οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τότε ἐξέστη· νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη, ὅπου πού καὶ αἶε ὥς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐς τὰ προάστεια εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι ἐκδημοίη, καὶ ἀφορμώμενος καὶ ἐπανιών ὁμοίως ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀχληρὸς εἴη." (Translation after Reynolds.)

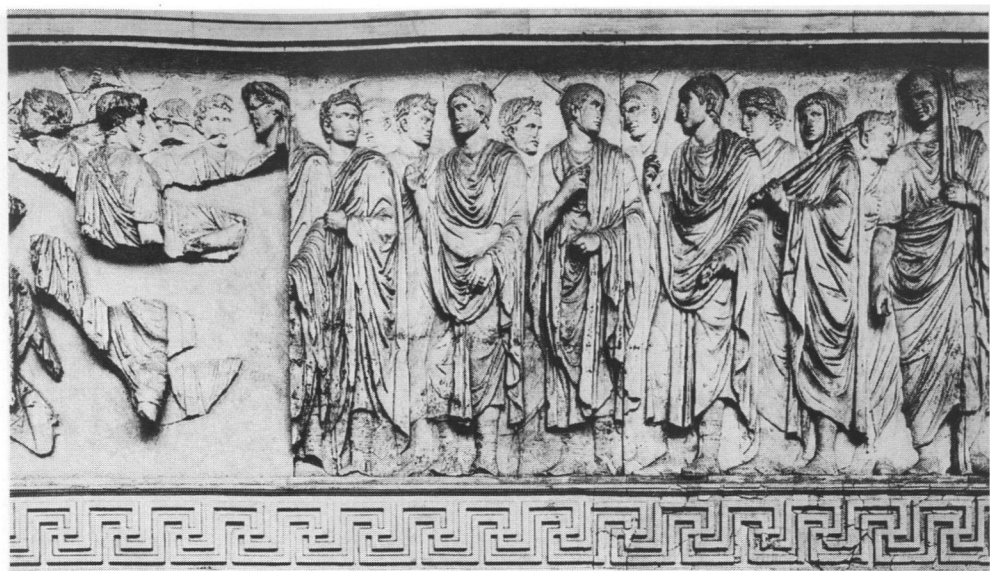


Fig. 4.5 Ara Pacis south frieze 1.

and divine lineage, but also bound the Republic to the Principate (Zanker 1987: 177–81; 206–09). Indeed the long processional frieze on the southern side of the *ara* showed Augustus hobnobbing with prominent senators (fig. 4.5–4.6).¹⁹

Leading the procession are Augustus' lictors carrying *fascēs*, symbolizing his Republican offices and powers. In this way alone does Augustus stand out. He is in fact easily overlooked in the long line of notables following him. Rome's most distinguished senatorial priests, the four *flamines* and the *rex sacrorum*, precede Augustus' family, which is led by his friend, and effectively co-emperor, Agrippa. It has been a favorite pastime of classical archaeologists to try to name individual family members whose faces are generally said to be idealized, but the attempt is futile.²⁰ With the exception of Augustus' and Agrippa's heads, all portraits in the relief are generic. This is no coincidence. Augustus and Agrippa were, according to all senators' standards, eminent figures in the *res publica*, and therefore entitled to public praise. Though also distinguished through their careers, Augustus' family members were not eminent figures. It is of course possible, and even likely, that contemporary viewers tried to name them, but the senators

¹⁹ The debate on the lateral friezes has focused on the question of which historical procession, if any, is represented. See most recently Billows 1993; cf. Romeo 1999.

²⁰ Pollini 1980: 99–123 represents the most elaborate attempt at identification; see also Rose 1990. On the idealism, Zanker 1987: 128.

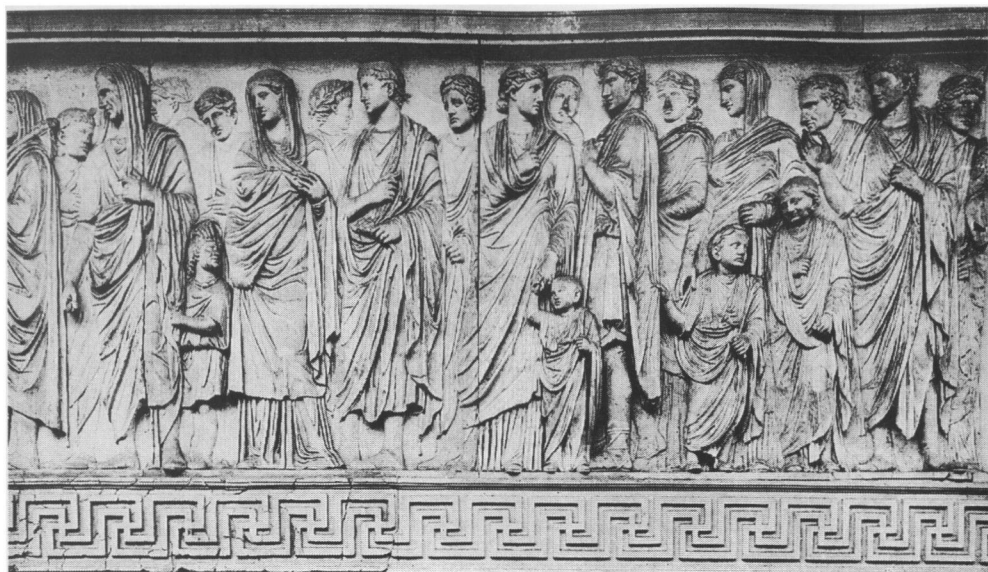


Fig. 4.6 Ara Pacis south frieze 2.

commissioning the monument were very careful not to exalt the members of the imperial family over all the other nobles in the senate – or on the *Ara Pacis*.²¹ The imperial house could therefore stand for any noble Roman *gens* and the anonymous priests for the entire senatorial aristocracy from which they were recruited. This way of presenting the emperor together with the old aristocracy was unique in Augustan Rome.²²

Whereas the senate stressed its closeness to the emperor, the lower classes had no scruples praising Augustus as the sole power in Rome. When the emperor re-organized the city around 7 BC into 14 regions and multiple *vici* (numbering 265 by the mid-first century AD: Plin. *NH* 3.66) he invited commoners to partake in the rituals of public life. The aldermen of the *vici*, the so-called *vicomagistri*, were put in charge of their quarter's household

²¹ It is indeed questionable whether any member of Augustus' family is present in the parade of the priestly colleges on the northern processional frieze.

²² The way Augustus turned Rome from a city of brick into a city of marble also left no room for unbridled aristocratic self-display. In that process many old public monuments and buildings were, more or less deliberately, destroyed, whereas almost all new luxury buildings, such as the Theater of Marcellus, were constructed by Augustus himself, or by his immediate family. The emperor's kin that had been denied an individual face on the *Ara Pacis* now dominated the Roman cityscape, which the senatorial aristocracy ceded to the imperial house for the next 400 years; for the senatorial reaction to this new reality, see Eck, this volume.

cult, the worship of the *lares*, and granted two lictors and the right to wear a purple bordered toga on the relevant holidays. Augustus generously provided the statues of the two *lares* but not the image of the spirit which became the centre of cultic attention, the *Genius Augusti*. The circumstances of this significant addition are unknown and much debated, but it is important to note that the *vicomagistri* treated Augustus as the *paterfamilias* of a Roman household whose *genius* was always worshipped together with the family's *lares*.²³ It is not likely that this was encouraged by the emperor himself. It appears instead to have started as a grassroots movement: the sanctuaries for the *lares* on the crossroads (*compita*) of Rome were not constructed by the emperor himself but by the *vicomagistri* who made different choices for their design.²⁴ Some *nouveaux riches* boasted their newly won status through altars that broadcast the pomp and circumstance of the sacrifices they organized, as on a famous *ara* found beneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria (fig. 4.7). Others focused on Augustus' providing of the two *lares* and the honors bestowed on him (fig. 4.8), and some even dedicated their *compitum* to Augustus himself.²⁵

Viewed against the backdrop of 265 monuments praising Augustus as the *patronus* of the city without even alluding to the senate – which, after all, had run Rome for centuries – the *Ara Pacis* and its Republican praise of the *Pax Augusta* present a competing vision of the Principate. Indeed, the senate did not include the worship of the *genius Augusti* in the official Roman calendar until Claudius (at the earliest). And unlike the Greeks, it never worshipped a living emperor as a god (Gradel 2002: 187–97). This was not, however, an act of resistance or defiance but again a result of Augustus' voice in regard to the senate. In 13 BC and on dozens of other occasions Augustus tried not to embarrass the senate, ostentatiously upheld the banner of the old Republic, and refused to be honored by the aristocracy in the same way as he was praised by provincials and commoners.²⁶ Augustus therefore did not try to consolidate the praise of his subjects into a monolithic vision of imperial power but was instead concerned and content to be addressed in ways that appropriately expressed his relations with several constituencies. Unlike the senate, the people of Rome had reason to treat him as their patron. Anything

²³ Gradel 2002: 116–32; Lott 2004: 110–17.

²⁴ Zanker 1987: 135–40; Hölscher 1988: 394–400; cf. Lott 2004: 128–52; 111–13 for the inclusion of the *Genius Augusti* on a voluntary basis.

²⁵ Hölscher 1988: 396–98 (so-called “*ara dei vicomagistri*”); 394–96 (altar in the Vatican); 398–400 (*compitum Acili*).

²⁶ Veyne 2002a: 54–57 on emperors and senate in general.

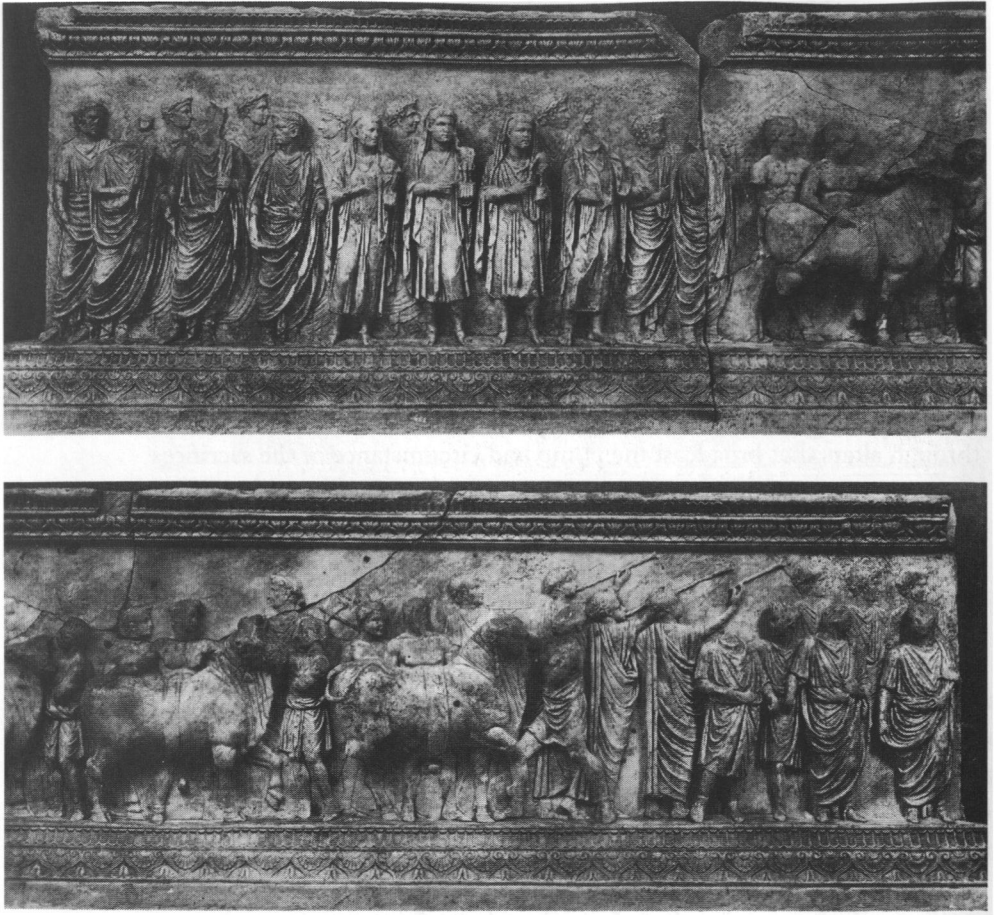


Fig. 4.7 Ara Vicomagistri (a–b).

else could have been perceived as a lack of gratitude in the face of Augustus' stunning generosity that manifested itself in an unprecedented building program, the costly restoration and improvement of the city's water supply and sewage systems, the millions he freely gave away in his *congiaria*, the supply and distribution of cheap grain, and the lavish games he held (Zanker 1987: 141–61).

A review of the monuments publicly praising Augustus therefore suggests that they were decorated in the original sense of the word. They reflected a *decorum* for thanking the emperor according to one's status. Indeed, the notoriously vitriolic senatorial historiography not only lambasted "bad emperors" for overstepping the lines of *decorum* but also their subjects for setting up monuments and praising them in a way that amounted to



Fig. 4.8 Compital altar.

flattery, or *adulatio*.²⁷ It is striking, however, that in the age of Augustus the few surviving objects that are most liable to the charge of *adulatio* were neither suitable, nor possibly intended, for public display. These are the well-known Julio-Claudian Sardonyx cameos which are often interpreted

²⁷ Classic example at Tac. *Ann.* 13.8; cf. Mayer 2002: 13–14.



Fig. 4.9 Gemma Augustea.

in terms of “imperial propaganda” but which must have been gifts presented to the emperor (fig. 4.9).²⁸ What one could dedicate in public differed from what one could give in private.

Another argument for the social or provincial peculiarities of praise is that the discourse initiated by Augustus did not change for the next two centuries. Even though the senate finally conceded that the emperor was chosen from among their order by Jupiter or divine fate, state monuments dedicated by the senate never turned the emperor into a living god, stressed his Republican powers and virtues, and showed him rubbing shoulders with

²⁸ L. Giuliani recently demonstrated in a paper on the *Grand Camée de France* that the vision of imperial succession celebrated on the gem runs contrary to Tiberius’ policy, as we know it from hindsight. The *Gemma Augustea* in Vienna, which presented Tiberius as Augustus’ successor, is equally problematic. Augustus had humiliated Tiberius more than once and did not shrink from saying in the opening line of his publicly read will that he would rather have bequeathed his fortune – and his position – to his prematurely deceased grandchildren Gaius and Lucius. It seems highly unlikely that Augustus and Tiberius would have commissioned politically problematic images of themselves when they publicly acted out their modesty – especially in regard to the imperial succession. This was probably the reason why the patron of the cameos did not read their minds correctly.



Fig. 4.10 Arch of Septimius Severus, Ktesiphon.

prominent senators. The people of Rome, however, continued to display their loyalty towards the emperor, his *genius*, and his family, whereas many provincials emphasized his divine qualities.

IV. The longevity of class-bound *decorum*: three arches for Septimius Severus

The last relief-decorated honorific monuments which were (to our knowledge) built before a third-century lacuna honored Septimius Severus. Two of them were quite literally erected on the emperor's doorstep in AD 203 and 204. The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum (fig. 4.10) was dedicated by the senate to the emperor and his two sons Caracalla and Geta "because the commonwealth was restored and the empire of the

Roman people enlarged by their outstanding virtues at home and abroad.”²⁹ These virtues were illustrated by the emperor’s victories over the Parthians depicted on four large panels over the two smaller archways. Brilliant argued that these reliefs reflected the large paintings and posters carried in triumphal processions.³⁰ If this was so, they put little emphasis on Septimius Severus himself. In the panel celebrating the capture of Ctesiphon the entire lower half of the relief is dedicated to the Roman army advancing in good order against the Parthians fleeing or helplessly gesticulating in the advent of an enormous siege engine (Brilliant 1967: pls. 86–95). The upper half represents an *adlocutio* of the emperor speaking to legionaries from a *suggestum* that has been erected next to the captured city. Septimius Severus stands amid a dozen senatorial staff officers. The image suffers little even though the figure of the emperor has broken away. The valor and technological superiority of the legions, the prominent role of the senatorial commanders, and the camaraderie of officers and soldiers could stand alone as an image of Roman superiority. This is not true of the images decorating the Gate of the Argentarii erected in AD 204 (fig. 4.11).

The bankers and local businessmen dealing in the Forum Boarium needed no other reason for dedicating the monument than their devotion to the divine powers (*numina*) of Septimius Severus and his kin.³¹ Even though some images on the gate alluded to Septimius Severus’ martial prowess, the most significant images in the main thoroughfare did not relate any of his exploits (Hannestad 1988: 278, fig. 169). They showed the emperor, his wife Julia Domna, and their family at a sacrifice (ibid. 280–1, fig. 170). The actual culmination of the ritual, the slaughter of the bull, was only shown as a small vignette under a large panel presenting the emperor and his wife performing the preliminary offering of burning incense. In an earlier version of the relief the couple’s youngest son Geta was also present but he was chiseled away after his assassination at the hands of his brother Caracalla (ibid. 279). The *argentarii* and their fellow businessmen were far more interested in presenting a picture of the imperial family than in capturing the details of a great public sacrifice, and they even represented Julia Domna with Mercury’s staff, a symbol of commercial success.

Whereas non-aristocratic Romans revered the members of the imperial house as patrons guaranteeing their economic well-being, the citizens of Septimius Severus’ hometown in Libya, Lepcis Magna, had other concerns.

²⁹ CIL 6.1033. Standard publication by Brilliant 1967.

³⁰ Brilliant 1967: ch. 15. On *literarily* attested triumphal imagery, cf. Ando 2000: 253–59.

³¹ CIL 6.1035. Most recent discussion by Elsner 2005.



Fig. 4.11 Arch of the Argentarii.

They commissioned a tetrapylon on their main street.³² On the axis of the road the most significant relief appeared twice atop the monument so that passersby coming from both directions could admire it. It showed the emperor's arrival in his native city in all its splendor. But in order to single out the emperor, he and his sons are the only figures facing the viewer (fig. 4.12). The lighthouse at the end of the procession located the scene in Lepcis and thus made it clear that the city had indeed been graced by an imperial visit (Strocka 1972). The people of Lepcis did not, however, make the claim that the emperor was "one of them." One of the reliefs in the main thoroughfare presented him and his wife as Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina, respectively (La Rocca 1985: 4–5, fig. 4.5). Septimius Severus thus towered over his old countrymen as much as the king of the heavens.

³² Straightforward account by Hannestad 1988: 270–77.



Fig. 4.12 Tetrapylon, Lepcis Magna.

Already as an imperial legate, Septimius is said to have brutally punished an old acquaintance from his hometown who dared to embrace him publicly when he entered Lepcis on official business (*SHA Sev.* 2.6). Again, the three arches not only mirrored the perception of the emperor by different groups but also his behavior towards them. Different voices engendered appropriate responses.

The pattern so far established points towards a relatively static system with clearly allocated roles. Each social group praised the *princeps* according to a sense of *decorum* that reflected the emperor's behavior towards them, which in turn followed established conventions. This finding converges with the current consensus on the nature of the Principate. Even though the *principes* of the first two centuries faced no serious opposition against autocracy, the emperor's position was a precarious one. Disappointing key constituencies undermined public loyalty and allowed for usurpations. Emperors who did not live up to their role were challenged and replaced (see Flaig, this volume). The discourse outlined above was therefore hard to change. Even monuments of failed emperors were traditional enough to be reused.³³ Speeches in their praise hardly ever differed from one another. During the Principate the near impossibility of finding a genuinely new language to express imperial virtue further attests to the existence of the proposed system.

³³ On *spolia*, cf. Mayer 2002: 195–202.

V. The dynamics of a static image: panegyrics and monuments

For a long time, the study of panegyric followed the same pattern as research on public monuments. Both were considered to be “official” statements on the emperor’s behalf and therefore a tool of imperial propaganda. Several new close readings suggest otherwise.³⁴ Recent studies have demonstrated that the panegyricists were not briefed on what to say and rather used the opportunity of addressing the emperor to negotiate on behalf of the bodies they spoke for. They referred to generally accepted virtues but did so in order to express their expectations about the emperor. This presented a problem to Pliny the Younger when he set out to praise Trajan in his famous panegyric of AD 100 (Mayer 2002: 8–11). His way of handling generic virtues such as *clementia* or *liberalitas* was to say that while other emperors had been applauded for them, only Trajan truly possessed them:

And indeed it does the *princeps* honor of no ordinary kind if in thanking him my fears are not that he will think I say too little in his praise but that I say too much. This is my sole anxiety, the only difficulty in my path; for it is easy, Conscript Fathers, to render thanks where they are due. There is no danger that in my references to his humanity (*humanitas*) he will see a reproach for arrogance; that he will suppose I mean extravagance by modest expenditure (*frugalitas*), and cruelty by forbearance (*clementia*); that I think him covetous and capricious when I call him generous and kind (*cum de liberalitate, avaritiam; cum de benignitate, livorem*), profligate and idle instead of self-controlled and active (*cum de labore, inertiam*), or that I judge him a coward when I speak of him as a brave man (*cum de fortitudine, timorem*).³⁵

Even when contrasting appropriate praise with sycophancy, Pliny remained vague and unspecific:

It is my view that not only the consul but every citizen alike should endeavor to say nothing about our *princeps* which could have been said of any of his predecessors. Away, then, with expressions formerly prompted by fear: I will have none of them. The sufferings of the past are over: let us then have done with the words which belong to them. An open tribute to our *princeps* demands a new form, now that the wording of our private talk has changed. Times are different, and our speeches must

³⁴ MacCormack 1981: 1–14 is fundamental; cf. Mayer 2002: 6–27; Seelentag 2004: 214–92.

³⁵ Plin. *Pan.* 3–4: *Magna et inusitata principis gloria, cui gratias acturus non tam vereor ne me in laudibus suis parcum, quam ne nimium putet. Haec me cura haec difficultas sola circumstat; nam merenti gratias agere facile est, patres conscripti. Non enim periculum est ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobari sibi superbiam credat; cum de frugalitate, luxuriam; cum de clementia, crudelitatem; cum de liberalitate, avaritiam; cum de benignitate, livorem; cum de continentia, libidinem; cum de labore, inertiam; cum de fortitudine, timorem.* (Translation after Loeb.)

show this; from the very nature of our thanks both the recipient and the occasion must be clear to all. Nowhere should we flatter him as a divinity and a god.³⁶

This passage may seem dull and repetitious, yet it solves the problem that there was no genuinely new language for praising Trajan. The interaction between *princeps* and senate was too narrowly defined. Like Arrian a generation later, Pliny claimed that only he and his peers in the senate, who jealously guarded their prerogative of direct and personal access to the *princeps*, had a proper understanding of how to praise the emperor:

The people must have their own ways of distinguishing between their *principes*. They all give the same acclamation now to one for his valor as they had to another a short time ago for his good looks, and the cries which greeted the voice and attitudes of one of his predecessors now serve to praise their present emperor's devotion to duty, his clemency and restraint. What about us [the senators]? Is it the divine nature (*divinitas*) of our *princeps* or his humanity, his moderation and courtesy which joy and affection prompt us to celebrate in a single voice? Surely nothing could reveal him as citizen and senator more appropriately than the title bestowed upon him of *Optimus*.³⁷

Pliny's snobbery reveals that he was concerned not only about commoners praising unsuitable qualities, such as good looks, but also about their inability to recognize where applause for virtues such as *pietas*, *abstinentia*, and *mansuetudo* was appropriate – even in the case of Trajan. Again, imperial virtues are so clearly defined that proper praise is not a matter of what to say; it only matters whether an emperor deserves to be applauded traditionally. However, Pliny concedes that the senate's praise of the emperor was mostly a knee-jerk reaction:

But why confine my admiration to this, when the other honors we offer you are always so sparingly accepted or else refused? Hitherto, anyone called on to speak in the Senate . . . prolonged his speech by praising the *principes*. We debated the

³⁶ Plin. Pan. 2.1–3.7: *Equidem non consuli modo sed omnibus civibus enitendum reor, ne quid de principe nostro ita dicant, ut idem de alio dici potuisse videatur. Quare abeant ac recedant voces illae quas metus exprimebat. Nihil quale ante dicamus, nihil enim quale antea patimur; nec eadem de principe palam quae prius praedicemus, neque enim eadem secreto quae prius loquimur. Discernatur orationibus nostris diversitas temporum, et ex ipso genere gratiarum agendarum intellegatur, cui quando sint actae. Nusquam ut deo, nusquam ut numini blandiamur.* (Translation after Loeb.)

³⁷ Plin. Pan. 2.6–7: *Et populus quidem Romanus dilectum principum servat, quantoque paulo ante concentu formosum alium, hunc fortissimum personat, quibusque aliquando clamoribus gestum alterius et vocem, huius pietatem abstinentiam mansuetudinem laudat. Quid nos ipsi? Divinitatem principis nostri, an humanitatem temperantiam facilitatem, ut amor et gaudium tulit, celebrare universi solemus? Iam quid tam civile tam senatorium, quam illud additum a nobis Optimi cognomen?* (Translation after Loeb.)

increase of the number of gladiators or the founding of a craftsmen's guild, and as if the boundaries of the empire had been extended we discussed colossal arches and inscriptions too long for temple architraves, or else the months, when more than one were to take the names of the Caesars. For their part, the emperors suffered this and enjoyed it as if they had truly deserved it.³⁸

Pliny was an ambitious man. He delivered his panegyric on the occasion of his elevation to the rank of a *consul suffectus* and therefore had good reason to flatter Trajan – and so he did. His allusion to the *divinitas* of the emperor comes close to the deification of a living being, but on the whole Trajan is invested with all the qualities the senate considered necessary for a “good” emperor. It was his virtues and his modesty but above all his appearance as a “citizen and senator” that endeared him to the highest order.

Text and image differ greatly and so panegyrics cannot be used as an ecphrasis of monuments in praise of Roman emperors. The similarities between Pliny's speech and the honorific monuments dedicated by the senate are, however, striking. Senatorial monuments and the panegyric celebrate an unwritten canon of imperial virtues. Pliny's lofty exhortation to find new forms of praising Trajan culminates in reinforcing a commonly held aristocratic belief. The inability of an eloquent rhetorician to say something genuinely new explains why, in the world of highly standardized images, introducing new topics was equally difficult. In Pliny's own lifetime imperial monuments were interchangeable and offered little innovation. The reliefs honoring Domitian were reworked after his *damnatio memoriae*. Even allusions to his religious preferences such as the inclusion of Minerva on Frieze A of the so-called Cancelleria-reliefs did not tie the image so closely to him that it could not be reused. Domitian's portrait was changed into that of his successor Nerva. Later, the precious marble friezes were stored on public property awaiting even further reuse.³⁹ On the newly constructed arch for Trajan in Beneventum the *adulatio* of senators like Pliny translated itself into a single scene of Jupiter investing the emperor with a thunderbolt, but on the whole the personifications and figures on the other reliefs put Trajan into a framework that would have suited any of his predecessors (Fittschen 1972: 772–82). The impossibility of finding a new vernacular for

³⁸ Plin. *Pan.* 54.3: *Sed quid ego istud admiror, cum eos quoque honores qui tibi a nobis offeruntur aut delibare parcissime aut omnino soleas recusare? Nihil ante tam vulgare tam parvum in senatu agebatur, ut non laudibus principum immorarentur, quibuscumque censendi necessitas accidisset. De ampliando numero gladiatorum aut de instituendo collegio fabrorum consulebamur, et quasi prolatis imperii finibus nunc ingentes arcus excessurosque templorum fastigium titulos, nunc menses etiam nec hos singulos nomini Caesarum dicabamus. Patiebantur illi, et quasi meruissent laetabantur.* (Translation after Loeb.)

³⁹ Publication of the marble yard by Magi 1945.

praising Trajan reflected the nature of public applause as established in the age of Augustus. The need for specific, appropriate praise left the patrons of honorific monuments with little choice but to identify those virtues in the emperor's deeds that mattered most in their own dealings with him. Policies had to be linked to generic terms such as *clementia* or *civilitas*. The class-bound repertoire of imperial virtues was perdurable.⁴⁰

VI. Conclusions

The emperors of the first two centuries spent most of their time in Rome. Both ancient and modern historiography has therefore focused on the interaction between the *principes*, the senate, and the people of Rome; the third relevant group in imperial politics, the soldiers, were represented by the praetorian guard. As historians have pointed out, no emperor could afford to alienate one of these three groups without losing his life sooner or later. Seelentag has therefore suggested that the Principate was based on an *Akzeptanzsystem* (system of acceptance) which forced the emperor to address – and sometimes reconcile – the expectations of all these three constituencies.⁴¹

In this situation an unwritten code of behavior played out to the mutual benefit of rulers and ruled and it is this interplay between the emperor and the different constituencies within his reach that is reflected on the monuments in his honor. They applauded specific policies in a socially appropriate manner that probably helped reinforce existing patterns of political behavior. If the images and monuments in praise of Roman emperors do indeed reflect a tradition-bound interaction between rulers and ruled, and not unbridled autocratic self-display, it is unimportant whether the public applause of imperial policy might have been staged. In any case, the *principes* fitted into an established, yet slightly changing, system of expectations.

⁴⁰ On continuity and change, cf. Mayer 2002: 18–22.

⁴¹ Seelentag 2004: 17–26; cf. Flaig, this volume.

By the early first century BC, while Rome politically dominated the Mediterranean, contemporary public architecture did not yet reflect the city's new imperial status. In other Latin towns, foreign spoils and sophisticated Hellenistic architectural concepts led to striking new projects – e.g., the Temple of Jupiter at Tarracina or the vast Temple of Fortune at Praeneste¹ – but in Rome, by stringently controlling conflicting ambitions among noble rivals and maintaining a fiscally conservative financial policy, the senate prevented the construction of large-scale architectural projects and thereby limited the widespread reception of new artistic ideas and styles.² However, new fashions did reach the city eventually, and they were increasingly influential.

The Temple of Mars (or, perhaps, Fortuna Respiciens) is an early example of the importance of these new fashions. From the second century BC to the great fire that destroyed the neighborhood in AD 64 (Tac. *Ann.* 15.38–41), it stood on a street that ran from the valley of the Colosseum to the Circus Maximus under the modern Via di San Gregorio. The fire must have totally destroyed the structure, but its remarkable terracotta pediment sculptures have survived, showing that, already by the mid-Republic, builders were employing Greek or Greek-trained sculptors well versed in contemporary Hellenistic styles.³

¹ Fasolo and Gullini 1953 (Praeneste); Coarelli 1987: 35–84 (Praeneste), 113–40 (Tarracina).

² Statues, paintings, inscriptions, arches, porticoes, aqueducts, walls and, most important, temples (with their connections to the gods and the well-being of the state), immortalized the transitory glory of military victory: Wiseman 1985: 4. During the Republic, the senate funded temples: *manubiae* (booty directly from conquest) paid for only five: Orlin 1997: 130, 134. And new temples could not be overly ostentatious. All senators sought glory, and, as Brunt 1988: 43 notes, their ambitions “demanded that [in building projects as in other social activities] the success of others should be restricted.”

³ *Musei Capitolini Guida* (2005), 148–49. Approximately 600 pieces of these figures, today called “Gli Dei di Terra Cotta” (Museum nos. for the central figures: 140, 190–95), were found in 1878. At first they were partially exhibited in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (1903–40), then moved to the Museo del Celio (also called the “Antiquarium Comunale”: Andrén 1940: 350) and returned to the Conservatori in 1950: Anselmino *et al.* 1990–91: 220–21. Several attempts were made to reconstruct them (Andrén 1940: 350–60; Strazzulla, in Anselmino *et al.* 1990–91). But only in the present century (according to the text that accompanies the display), after “scavo nel magazzino del museo basato sui documenti di archivio e sulle vecchie pubblicazioni

Early in the next century, such important eastern motifs began to influence major new buildings. By 78 BC, the simple if highly original Tabularium, its second-story arcade flanked by Doric columns supported by innovative concrete vaults, formed an elegant backdrop along the north-west side of the Forum, hiding the slopes of the Capitoline Hill behind a three-story classicizing façade.⁴ Nine years later, in 69 BC, nearly a decade and a half after a terrible fire in 83 BC had destroyed its predecessor,⁵ the senator Q. Lutatius Catulus dedicated the sumptuously rebuilt temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. More richly decorated than the original structure, the new building had a lofty porch with a Tuscan order and included lavish sculpture, like the new *quadriga* at the apex of the pediment and the cult image of the middle cella, a colossal seated gold-and-ivory figure of Zeus copied from the famous statue of Phidias at Olympia.

Yet even such splendid public works altered the general urban fabric very little. More imposing monuments required the radical political changes and vast infusions of foreign capital that came from the widespread, lucrative conquests and ever greater political power of important generals like Pompey the Great. Like the successful military commanders of the past, Pompey would commemorate his victories with a new monument. For Augustus and his imperial successors, the character, size, cost, and magnificence of Pompey's project would establish major new precedents for the adornment of the capital.

In 62 BC, Pompey celebrated a triumph over (in Plutarch's sonorous words) "Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, Judaea, Arabia, and all the power of the pirates on land and sea" (Plut. *Pomp.* 45.2). This extraordinary celebration outshone the achievements of all Pompey's political rivals, and in time-honored fashion he might, perhaps, have memorialized his successes with a new temple. Yet Pompey's exalted achievements required something grander – a whole religious complex perhaps.⁶

ha permesso di ricostruire l'apparato iconografico e decorativo del frontone," was this remarkable composition fully displayed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (second floor, at the museum entrance to the bar). The exhibit shows a pediment 13 m long, 1 m high at the center of the area for sculpture.

⁴ Delbrueck 1907–12: 1.23–46; pls. 3–9; 2: pl. 3; Platner and Ashby 1929: 506–08; *LTUR* 5: 17–20 (Mura Sommella).

⁵ Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; App. *BCiv.* 1.83; Plut. *Sull.* 27.3. Platner and Ashby 1929: 297–98.

⁶ Hanson 1959: 47, 54; Stamper 2005: 2, 85. And as Orlin 1997: 196–97 points out, Pompey's Temple of Venus Victrix (and the surrounding architectural setting) represents "a shift in emphasis from the interests of the Republic to the interests of the individual."

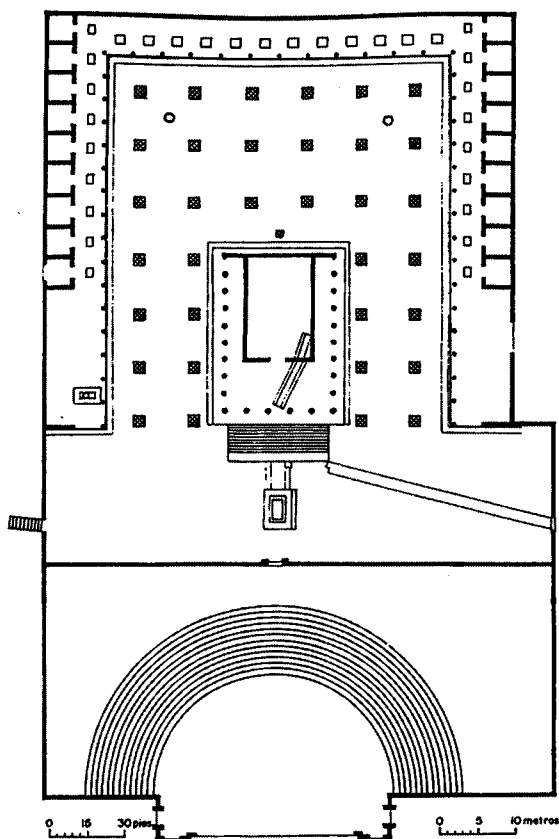


Fig. 5.1 The Temple of Juno Gabina, plan.

If Rome itself offered few examples, the great shrines of Latium provided important new models.⁷ Frontally oriented Italic temples on high podia usually dominated these monuments, and, as in the Temple of Juno at Gabii (fig. 5.1),⁸ such shrines were combined with flanking colonnades, shops, sacred groves, and even small theater areas. Characterized by unitary plans, these sites exhibited the best features of the contemporary Hellenistic world: picturesque locations with extensive views, axial layout, bilateral symmetry, the combination of disparate architectural elements into a harmonious, subtly organized whole. And while most complexes, like that of the Temple of Hercules Victor at Tibur (fig. 5.2),⁹ had simple rectangular plans, at

⁷ Hanson 1959: 29; Coarelli 1987: 11–103.

⁸ Hanson 1959: 29–31; Coarelli 1987: 11–21; Almagro Gorbea 1982: 39–124.

⁹ Hanson 1959: 31–32; Coarelli 1987: 86–103; Fiore and Mari (n.d.), 7–19; Reggiani 1998: 32–42.

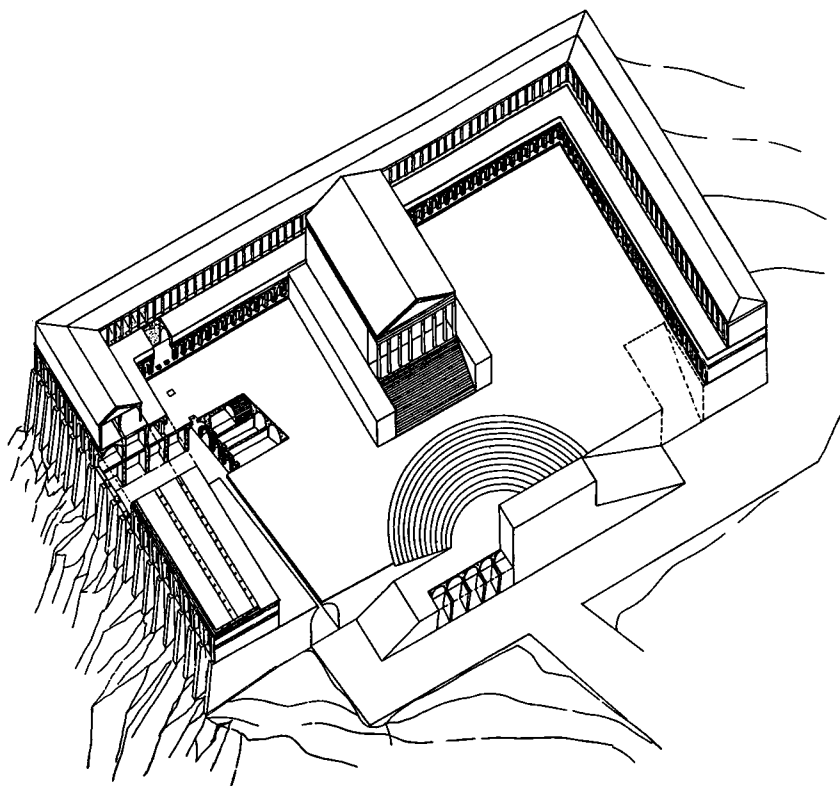


Fig. 5.2 Reconstruction of the Temple of Hercules Victor at Tibur.

least one, the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste (fig. 5.3),¹⁰ occupied an entire hillside. Cut into the slope of Monte Glicestro in eight generously proportioned terraces, its layout led visitors up a series of stairways, past colonnades and shops to a small theatrical area dominated from above by the Hellenistic tholos which sheltered the cult statue. Never, as the philosopher Carneades observed (*Cic. Div.* 2.87), did Fortune seem so fortunate, in the manner of her housing, as at Praeneste.

There were no such spectacular temples in Rome. But near the Circus Flaminius, a neighborhood in the southern Campus Martius fashionable among the nobility for its proximity to the route followed by triumphal processions (Künzl 1988: 15, fig. 2, 30–44), there were at least two major late Republican shrines: Marcus Fulvius Nobilior's Temple to Hercules Musarum (c. 187 BC) and the Porticus of Marcus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (after

¹⁰ Fasolo and Gullini 1953: 1: 17–193; Hansen (1959), 33–36; Coarelli 1987: 35–84.

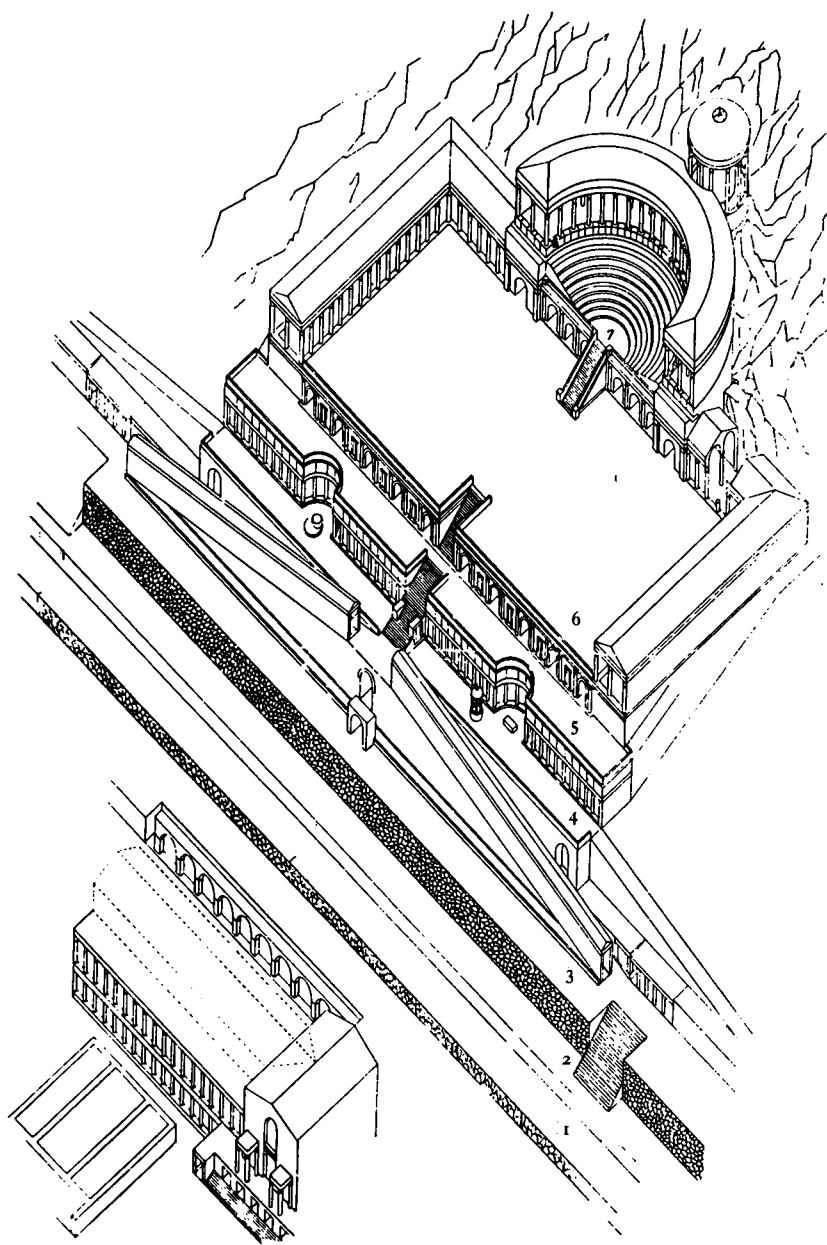


Fig. 5.3 Reconstruction of the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste.



Fig. 5.4 The Temple of Hercules Musarum (l.) and the Porticus of Octavia (r.) in the model of ancient Rome in Rome's Museum of Roman Civilization.

146 bc),¹¹ the latter later rebuilt by Augustus as the Porticus Octaviae. In both, colonnades framed very different shrines (fig. 5.4). Round with a projecting tetrastyle front porch, the domed temple of Hercules Musarum stood in a peristyle and faced a precinct flanked by rectangular bases connected by thin walls. At the back of the temple, a circular hemicycle may have served as a small theater for recitations, and the temple's façade faced a small bronze tholos dedicated to the Camenae, local goddesses, here perhaps identified with the Muses.¹² The Portico of Metellus enclosed two temples, an earlier one to Juno Regina and a later one to Jupiter Stator. Both complexes were elegantly appointed. The porticoes of Hercules Musarum displayed celebrated works of art; that of Metellus was famous for its rich decoration.¹³

But Pompey had fallen in love with the theater at Mytilene on the island of Lesbos. According to Plutarch, he was so impressed by it that he had

¹¹ *LTUR* 3: 17–19 (Viscogliosi). ¹² *LTUR* 3: 19; Coarelli 1997: 469–74.

¹³ Coarelli 1997: 474–84, 529–38; *LTUR* 4: 132 (Viscogliosi). Most of the evidence for these buildings comes from the *Forma Urbis*. Carettoni *et al.* 1960 vol 2, pls. 14, 29, 62b. For excellent photographs of the surviving slabs and the Renaissance drawings that treat these areas, see also the Stanford *Formae Urbis Romae* Digital Project: <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/slab.php?slab=81>.

had "a model of it taken, intending to erect one in Rome on the same design" (*Pomp.* 42.4). Hence Pompey's commemorative project would be a theater – the first permanent theater erected in Rome. But as an heir to Republican traditions, Pompey must have realized that a theater should be only the central feature of his design. Like past conquerors, he must also have a temple, and the porticoes and gardens associated with it should recall the grand new shrines of Latium and those of the southern Campus Martius. As in the Temple of Hercules Musarum and the Portico of Metellus, the complex should also house important *objets d'art*. Enhanced by elegant finishes, these could reveal Pompey's sophisticated tastes and great wealth.¹⁴

Other considerations also influenced Pompey. Theaters were normally built into hillsides. So Pompey might have considered cutting his theater into the slopes of the Capitoline Hill near the Tarpeian Rock, where Julius Caesar later thought of locating his own proposed theater.¹⁵ Yet a site there would have lain within the ancient *pomerium*, the religious boundary of the city. Overly close to the Forum, it could have provoked the wrath of the senate which, on grounds of preventing the people from forming potentially seditious assemblies, had long opposed the construction of a permanent theater in Rome.¹⁶ Pompey was powerful enough to flout some of the Senate's long-standing policies, but he had no wish to antagonize his aristocratic colleagues further by unduly installing a controversial building near the Forum, the traditional meeting place of the Senate.

Of course, design and costs were also concerns. Since the project was to commemorate his extraordinary conquests by lavish displays of eastern wealth, Pompey, as Plutarch reports (*Pomp.* 42.4), needed to build not just a theater but one "larger and more magnificent" than its predecessors in Greece and Italy. The colonnades and gardens would require extensive grounds. Fortunately, Pompey had access to a suitable site in the central Campus Martius (fig. 5.5).¹⁷ Just behind the four small temples today framed by the modern Largo Argentina, this area was still a mostly empty landscape

¹⁴ Beacham 1991: 158, 161–62; 1999: 63.

¹⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 44.1; Dio Cass. 43.49.2. Blake 1947: 154–55, n. 59; Beacham 1991: 163; 1999: 80. Coarelli 1987: 587–88, 589, fig. 142, suggests a location just behind the later Theater of Marcellus. Cut into the slope of the Capitoline Hill, this site would have occupied a part of the modern Via del Teatro di Marcello.

¹⁶ Beacham 1991: 65–66; 1999: 62.

¹⁷ L. Richardson 1987: 26; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 40.5. Beacham 1999: 68–69. Plutarch notes that Pompey later built a house for himself near the Theater in this neighborhood, and, by 60 BC, he probably had gardens in the area: Coarelli 1997: 545.



Fig. 5.6 View of the Theater of Marcellus seen across the Capitoline Hill with the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter.

Within the ambulatory (fig. 5.8), the inner façade was of peperino blocks, without travertine reinforcements.²¹

Moreover, although the flat site suited the projected colonnades and gardens, it offered no support for the seats. What would sustain them? Earlier architectural experiments, like that at Teanum Sidicinum, modern Teano in Campania,²² suggested artificial, vaulted structures below the cavea; and, following such precedents, Pompey's seats were set on raking concrete vaults.²³ Massive walls of heavy peperino blocks sustained the heaviest structural weights. Combined peperino blocks and concrete fill held up the lighter loads. Small tufa blocks (*opus reticulatum*) faced

supported the Temple of Venus Victrix were, however, of peperino, hidden perhaps under a veneer: Köhler 1864: 228; Pellegrini 1865: 202–03; Lugli 1957: 1.305.

²¹ Our only information on the interior of the ambulatory comes from V. Baltard. His elevation of this area is reproduced in *Roma Antiqua* 1992: 169, fig. 95/Baltard 3, middle left side, labeled "Arcades marquées G dans le plan." Unfortunately, Baltard forgot to put "G" on his plan, but this section of the ambulatory must be on the site of his excavation in the Largo dei Librari (shown to the right of the elevation in the same illustration).

²² Johannowsky 1963: 157–58 dates this theater to 108 BC, calling it "il più antico edificio per spettacoli in cui le gradinate poggiavano sicuramente almeno in tutta la parte esterna su fornaci. . . in sostanza, l'adattamento ad un edificio curvo di quello usato nella Porticus Aemilia"; cf. Golvin 1988: 1.23, 29.

²³ Lugli 1957: 1.664. These vaults are today most easily visible in the curving row of wedge-shaped basement rooms below the Via di Grotta Pinta and accessible from the basement of Ristorante "Da Pancrazio," Piazza del Biscione, 93; Gagliardo and Packer 2006: 104, fig. 8.10–19.



Fig. 5.7 Theater of Marcellus, view of lower two floors of the travertine façade.

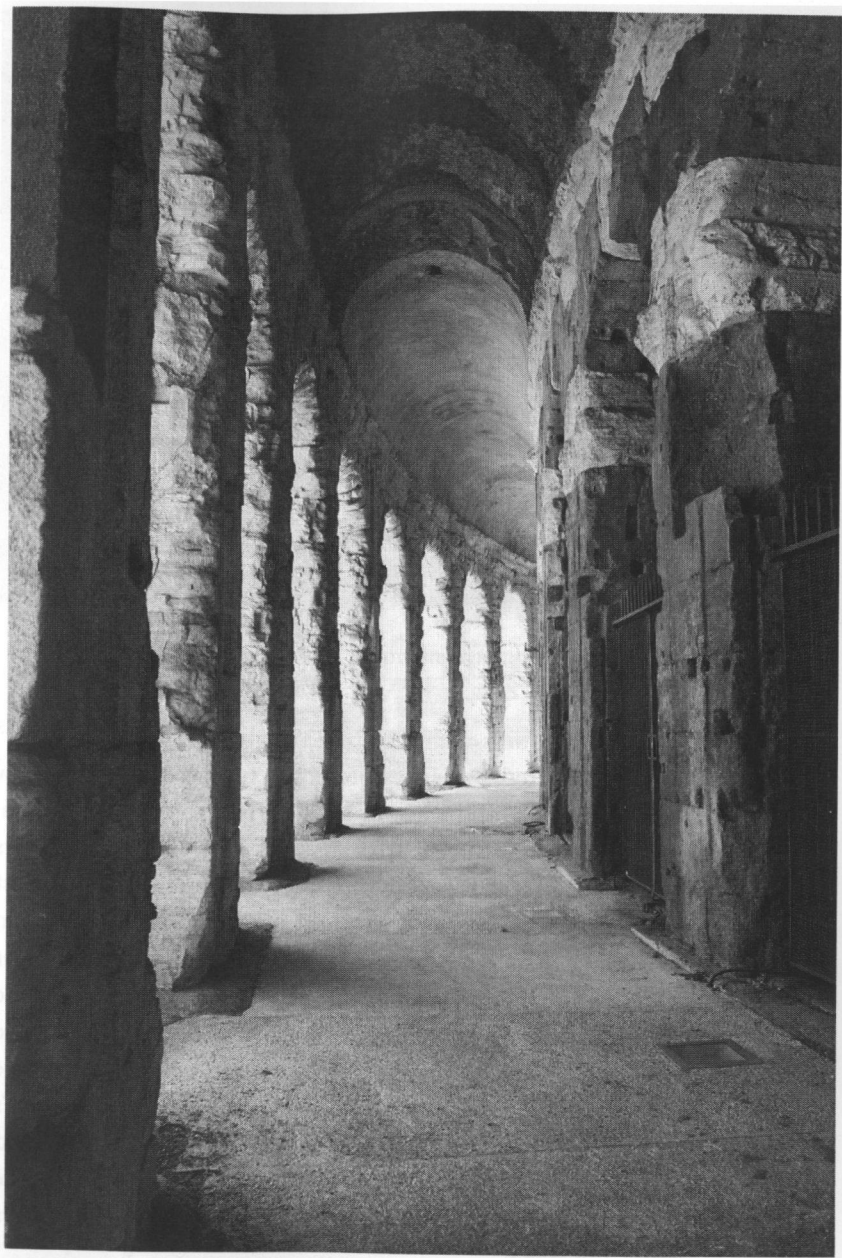


Fig. 5.8 Theater of Marcellus, interior of the ambulacrum.



Fig. 5.9 The Amphitheater at Pompeii, interior.

secondary walls,²⁴ and quoins of brick-sized tufa blocks framed doors.²⁵ But the size of the projected audiences presented further problems. How could so many people enter and leave in an orderly fashion? In Pompeii, part of the amphitheater's audience reached its seats from external stairways (fig. 5.9).²⁶ The arcades on the façade were entirely ornamental (or at most provided temporary recesses for vendors to set up their wares). And even in some later buildings, like the late Republican or early imperial theater at Minturnae (fig. 5.10), the radial spaces under the cavea were, with the exception of a single, centrally located hall, simply rooms, not halls.²⁷ The spectators reached their seats by passages (the *aditus maximi*) between the auditorium and the stage that led to stairways up the cavea. Yet, for Pompey's new theater, external stairways on the lofty façade would be difficult and dangerous, while the audience would be so large that those sitting in the upper cavea could not easily have accessed their places from passageways between the cavea and stage.

²⁴ The first dated use of *opus reticulatum*: Blake 1947: 227, 254, 265; Lugli 1957: 1.475, 508.

²⁵ Baltard shows and locates these styles on his archaeological plan (n. 21 above): "construction des portes. h. h. h.; mur in peperin. K. K.; cours alternatifs. De peperin et de blocage. L. L."

²⁶ Golvin 1988: 1.36, 2.pl. 23.1–2 (fig. 5.11 here).

²⁷ Ciancio Rossetto and Sartorio 1994: 2.507–08; Tosi 2003: 1.76–81; 3.pl. 3.61–70.

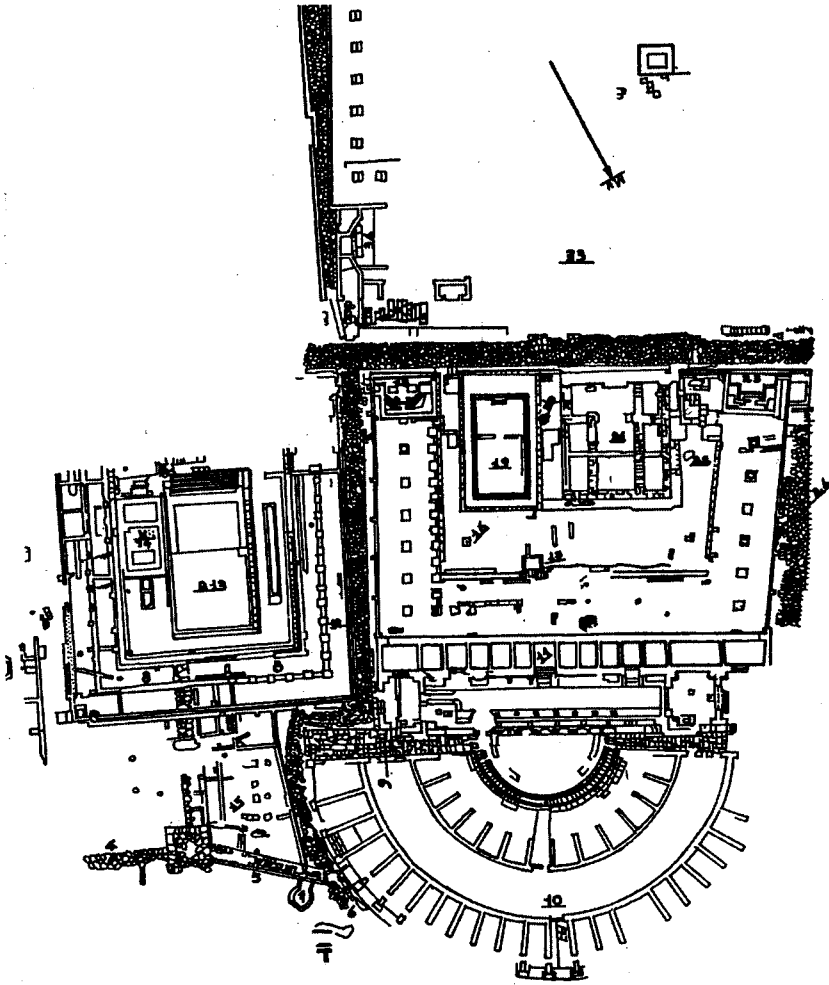


Fig. 5.10 The Augustan theater at Misenum, plan.

Again, recent amphitheater architecture offered some solutions. At Pompeii, for the lower and middle blocks of seats (the *ima* and *media maeniana*), spectators gained their places from subterranean corridors accessible from four passages at the front and the north-west side of the building (figs. 5.11.c, d, 4; 3, a, b). Combining corridors of this kind with arcades on the façade, Pompey's designers created a new, remarkably efficient plan. Senators reached their seats from the *aditus maximi*. The arches on the façade led to a semi-circular hall, the *ambulacrum*. From there, at right angles to the *ambulacrum*, stairs took the equestrians and the more privileged members of the audience to the best places in the lower and middle

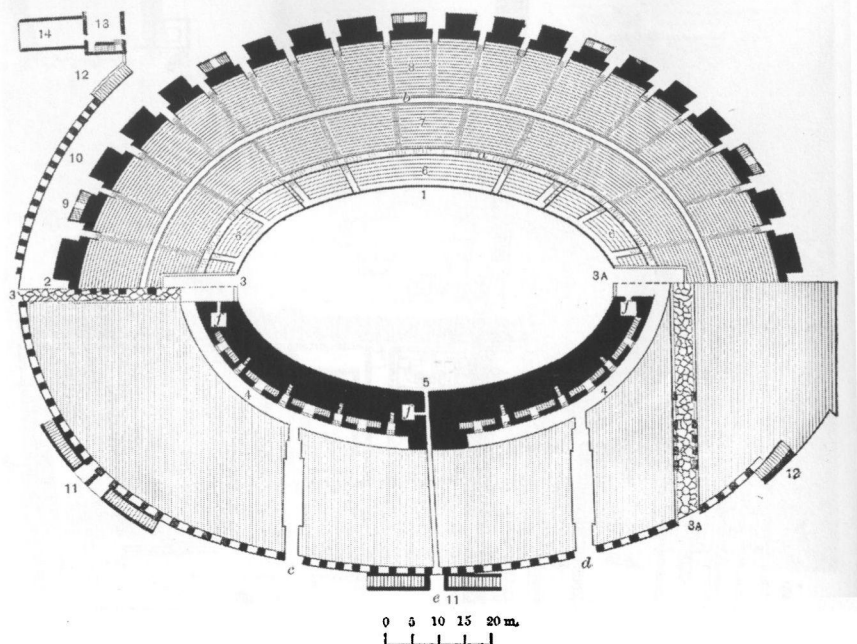


Fig. 5.11 Plan of the seats and area under the seats in the Theater at Pompeii (cf. Fig. 5.9).

cavea. Upper stairways led to the less desirable seats in the upper sections of the cavea. Without recourse to external stairs or limited access passages, Pompey's large audiences could thus enter and leave the theater easily.

As in the second story of the Tabularium of 78 BC (fig. 5.12), the external arcades were embellished with half-columns. According to Victor Baltard's nineteenth-century archaeological report, these were of the Tuscan order (fig. 5.13).²⁸ Arcades of this kind could be stacked as a multi-storied façade, and if, as seems likely, the façades of the Theater of Marcellus and that of

²⁸ Baltard 1837: 50 describes his discovery of the remains of the lower order: "Une fouille pratiquée sur cette place [Baltard's "place Ste. Barbara," the modern Largo dei Librari] à une profondeur de près de 10 mètres amena la découverte de deux piliers antérieurs à la direction des premiers. Ces piliers sont ornés de colonnes engagées, et reposent sur un sol composée de larges pierres de travertin." According to Pellegrini 1865: 202–03, "I pilastri [in the former courtyard of Palazzo Pio under the modern Cinema Farnese] che li reggevano sono formati grandi massi di travertino, ed hanno addossate. . . mezze colonne sporgenti dai pedritti palmi 2 e 9/12 [0.614 m]. Esse sono d'ordine dorico, e le basi hanno un solo toro che poggia sul piedistallo."



Fig. 5.12 The façade of the Tabularium on the Forum behind the temples of Vespasian (l.) and Concord (r.).

the Colosseum copied the Theater of Pompey,²⁹ Pompey's second order will have been Ionic, and his third Corinthian.

But where would the obligatory Temple stand? The Latin shrines at Gabii, Praeneste, and Tibur had closely connected their shrines with centrally located small theaters (figs. 5.1–5.3), and either Pompey himself or one of his architects suggested positioning his temple (dedicated to Venus Victrix) in the traditional location: the building's central axis atop the cavea. Projecting from the back façade, the cella would rest on three stories of arcaded foundations (fig. 5.13). Rising from the center of the cavea, its façade would even allow Pompey to counter senatorial suspicions by later claiming that the seats of his theater were merely the "steps" to his temple.³⁰

The other parts of the building demanded less innovation. The *scaenae frons* may not have been as elaborate as it had become by the Severan period, after several reconstructions (fig. 5.14).³¹ It was of large travertine blocks,³²

²⁹ Golvin 1988: 1.29–30. ³⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 21.1; Gell. *NA* 10.1.7; Tert. *De Spect.* 10; CIL 6.785.

³¹ Gagliardo and Packer 2006: 96, table 1.

³² Part of the stage wall survives today in the cellar of "Internet Point," a store at 47a 48 Piazza dei Satiri.

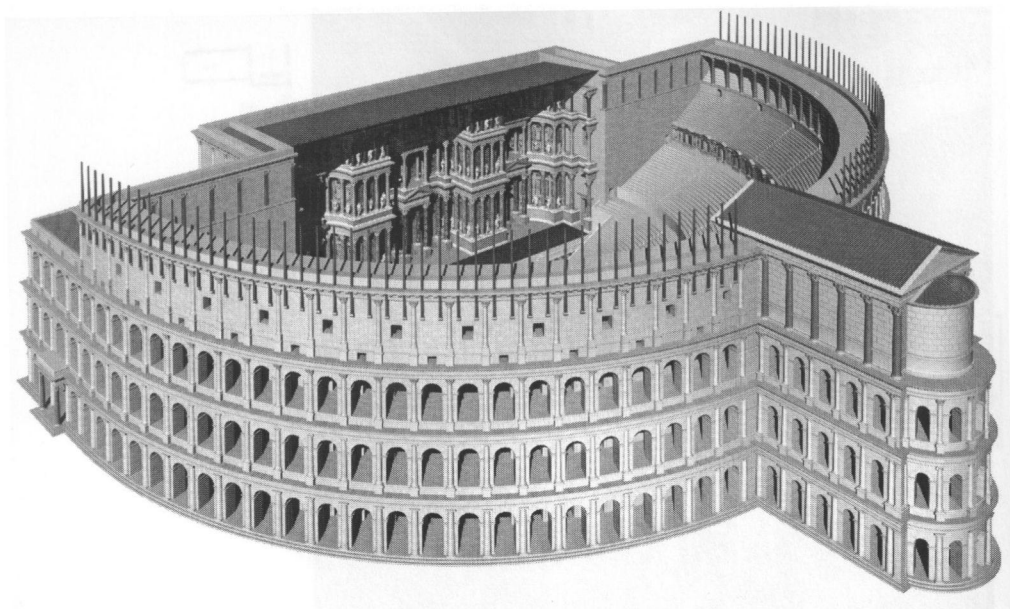


Fig. 5.13 The Theater of Pompey restored, general view, looking southeast.

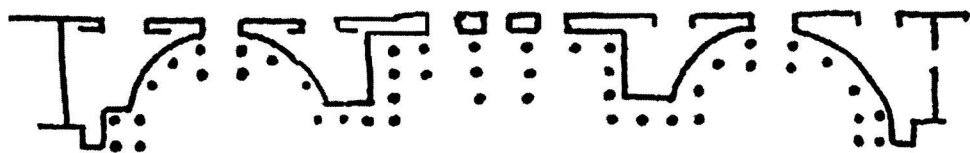


Fig. 5.14 The stage of the Theater of Pompey, tentative reconstruction with its plan from the Severan *Forma Urbis*

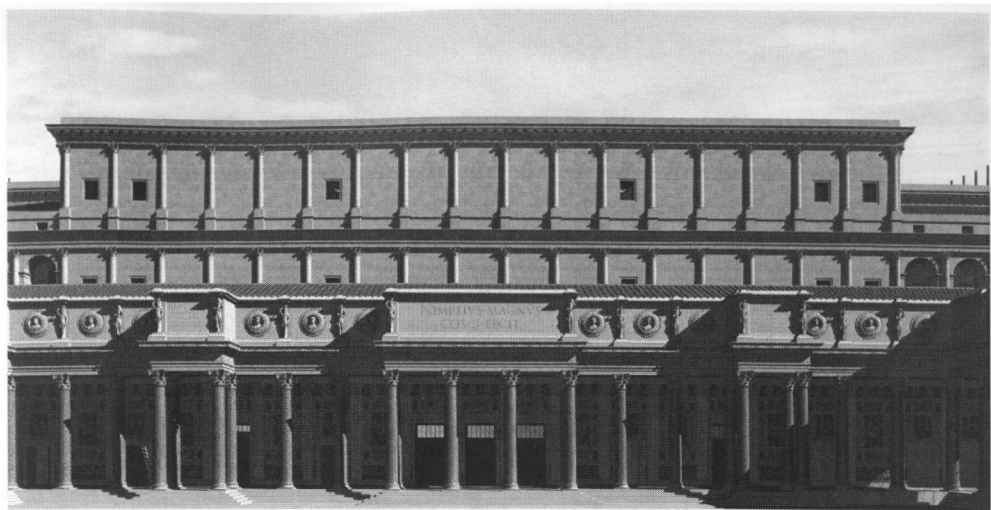


Fig. 5.15 View of the back of the *scaenae frons*, restored.

and, as in Scaurus' temporary theater of 58 BC,³³ it will have had at least three stories. As the plan of the stage in the later Theater of Marcellus suggests,³⁴ each was probably a simple colonnade. As shown in the emperor Septimius Severus' marble plan of Rome,³⁵ the later *scaenae frons* (fig. 5.15), probably the result of a massive campaign of reconstruction by Domitian (Sear 2006: 58–59), was considerably more elaborate. Two apses flanked a generously proportioned rectangular recess. Doors from a back stage hall lead into the recess (which had three equally sized doors) and into each of the apses. On the Forma Urbis, a columnar order adorns this articulated façade, and chance finds along the Via dei Chiavari suggest upper orders with shafts of multi-colored marbles and granites.³⁶ Between the columns of the lower order stood a group of colossal statues.³⁷ Turned toward the rear garden, the back façade (fig. 5.15) had three porches: the central one tetrastyle, and the two lateral ones distyle. These probably had a high attic – the location of Coponius' famous statues of the fourteen nations?³⁸ – and must have looked very much like the façade of the Trajanic Basilica Ulpia.³⁹

³³ Plin. *HN* 36.114–15, cited and translated in Beacham 1991: 67–68.

³⁴ Carettoni *et al.* 1960: 2.pl. 29; Tosi 2003: 1.26; 2.pl.I.37.

³⁵ Tosi 2003: 2.pl. II.23, 24b, 25b, 26b, 27b (= fig. 5.14, a slightly amended version of fig. 5.17 herein, the FUR plan of the *scaenae frons*).

³⁶ Gagliardo and Packer 2006: 116, n. 70.

³⁷ Fuchs 1982: 69–80, pls. 21–29; Fuchs 1987: 10; Gagliardo and Packer 2006: 116, n. 71.

³⁸ Plin. *HN* 36.41; Suet. *Ner.* 46.1; Coarelli 1971–72: 115–17. ³⁹ Packer 1997: 1 (frontispiece).



Fig. 5.16 The garden behind the peristyle in the Theater of Pompey.

The colonnaded garden behind the *scaenae frons* was sizeable (figs. 5.16, 5.25), but otherwise it was very similar to the earlier monuments of Nobilior and Metellus Macedonicus in the southern Campus Martius (fig. 5.4). Behind the massive granite columns of the lateral colonnades (cf. Marchetti 1891: 146–48), however, apses and rectangular recesses screened by columns unexpectedly expanded these promenades into elegantly appointed interior spaces (fig. 5.17).⁴⁰ For the famous Curia Pompei,⁴¹ the senate house of Pompey, where Julius Caesar was later assassinated,⁴² only the foundations of the Curia at the back of the garden peristyle have been excavated. These locate the structure on the main axis of the theater and have provided dimensions (20 m × 24 m; Coarelli 1981: 29), but reveal little else about the character of the building. If, however, we follow Gismondi's reconstruction for the model of ancient Rome in the Museum of Roman Civilization (fig. 5.18), we may suppose Pompey's Curia to have been a conventional building: a hipped, wooden roof and windows on the sides and back guarded

⁴⁰ Some are visible on the Forma Urbis: Carettoni *et al.* 1960: 2, pl. 32 = fig. 5.17.

⁴¹ Suet. *Aug.* 31.5; Plut. *Brut.* 14, *Caes.* 66; Dio Cass. 47.19.1.

⁴² App. *B. Civ.* 2.115; Dio Cass. 44.16–17; Suet. *Iul.* 80, 81.

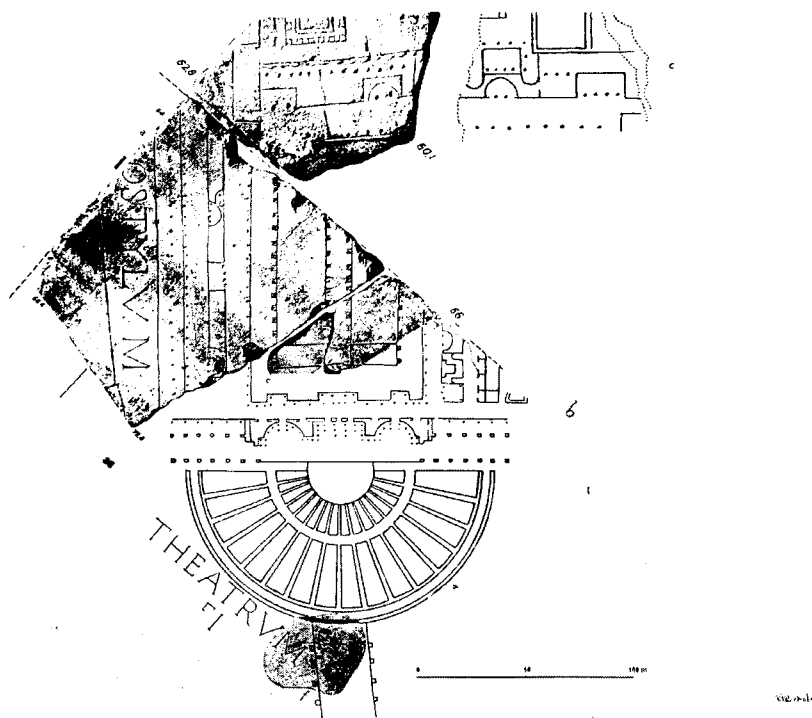


Fig. 5.17 The plan of the Theater of Pompey from the Forma Urbis showing the peristyle, its gardens, and some of the rooms inside the colonnades around the gardens.

by a famous statue of Pompey himself.⁴³ But, since we learn from the elder Pliny that a work by Polygnotus of Thasos, a celebrated painter of figures, decorated the front of the Curia (Plin. *HN* 35.59: *in porticu Pompei, quae ante curiam eius fuerat*), its entrance was, presumably, inside the peristyle colonnade, not the separate colonnaded porch of Gismondi's restoration.

With Pompey's ample resources, the finishes of the Theater and the associated buildings were extraordinary. Coated with stucco, the peperino details of the interior colonnades, like a small pier capital found in our on-site excavations in the summer of 2005 (fig. 5.19), gave the impression of a smooth marble finish. The floor of the ambulacrum was paved with travertine slabs.⁴⁴ The more important parts of the buildings had choicer

⁴³ Coarelli 1981: 1.29, n. 3; Coarelli 1971–72: 117–21.

⁴⁴ Cf. Pellegrini 1865: 203, "Nell'ambulacro rimane conservatissimo il pavimento a grandi lastri di travertino."

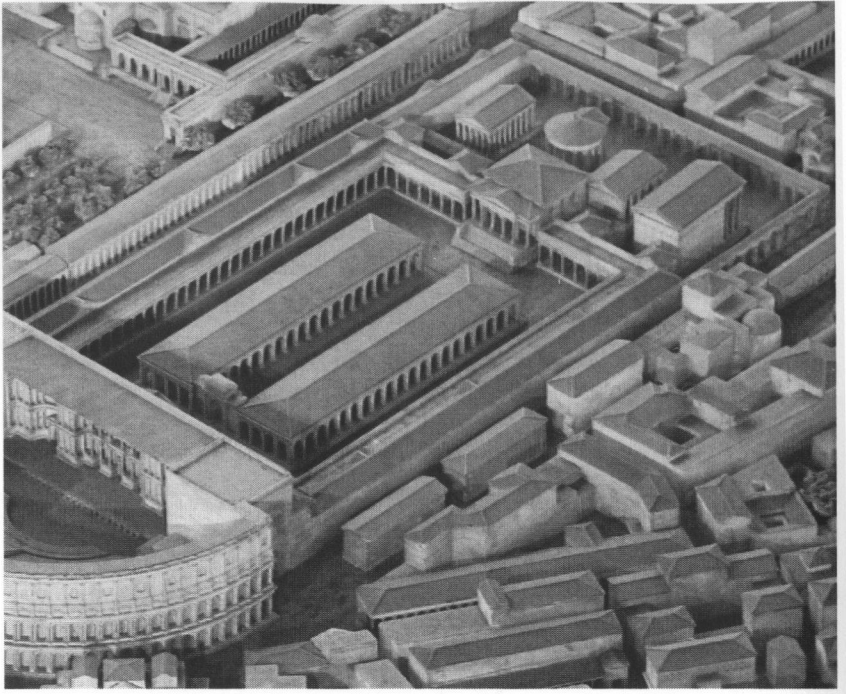


Fig. 5.18 View of the peristyle and the “Curia,” “Senate house,” of Pompey from the model of ancient Rome in the Museum of Roman Civilization. The two rectangular buildings inside the peristyle are incorrect “additions.”

fittings.⁴⁵ The seats of the *cavea* were of white marble; the colonnades around the upper story of the *cavea* and the columns of the Temple of Venus Victrix were of red Egyptian granite (Gagliardo and Packer 2006: 117, n. 72). The interior of the temple was floored with slabs of cipollino (greenish gray Greek marble from Euboea), and some of the statues inside were of basalt (Pellegrini 1865: 202). Foreign marbles appeared in greater profusion on the façade of the *scaenae frons* (fig. 5.14). The Severan stage had columns of Asiatic pavonazzetto and Africano, of African giallo antico, and of Egyptian porphyry (see above, n. 36), and its internal wall, like that of the Augustan theater at Herculaneum, must have been decorated with geometric designs in colored marbles.⁴⁶ A pavonazzetto base molding from our excavations in summer 2005 shows the fine execution of such features (fig. 5.20). The large columns of the garden portico behind the *scaenae frons* were of gray Egyptian granite (above, p. 152).

⁴⁵ Piranesi 1762: pl. 17, “Reliquiae Theatri Pompejani,” records the design of the seats.

⁴⁶ Ciancio Rossetto and Sartorio 1994: 2.448; Tosi 2003: 1.141–42.



Fig. 5.19 Small stuccoed cornice from the Theater of Pompey found in the excavations of 2003.

The surviving statues have been dated for the most part to the period of the Theater's construction. They include, probably from the *scaenae frons*, a colossal series with Apollo and the Muses. Apollo, Thalia, and an unidentified muse are still in Rome, now in the courtyard of Palazzo Borghese (fig. 5.21).⁴⁷ A famous, over life-size gilded bronze Hercules found in the mid-nineteenth century stands in the Vatican Museum (fig. 5.22). And from the porticoes come a seated muse (fig. 5.23; Coarelli 1971–72: 107–10) and perhaps a fragment of a colossal frieze now in the Museo Centrale di Montemartini (fig. 5.24). Indeed, the porticoes sheltered not only this sculpture but also collections of works by noted Greek painters (including a fine portrait of Alexander the Great),⁴⁸ and their brocaded awnings served both as decorations and as necessary protections for these works of art

⁴⁷ See above, nn. 37, 42; cf. Coarelli 1971–72: 99–122. Fuchs 1987: 5–7 lists and discusses most of these statues, omitting only the Hercules Mastai now in the Vatican: Köhler 1864: 228; Pellegrini 1865: 202; de Witte 1868: 195–216. These are illustrated in *Monumenti inediti* (1864–68), pl. 50. For a discussion of the statuary, see also Kuttner 1999.

⁴⁸ Plin. *HN*. 35.114; 35.132 (Alexander portrait); Gleason 1994: 19; Kuttner 1999: 345–64.

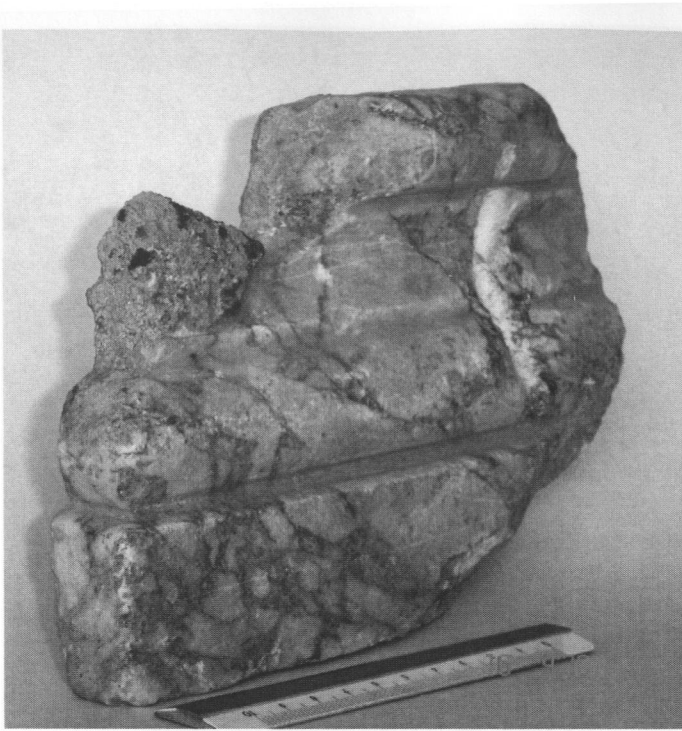


Fig. 5.20 Small pavonazzetto pilaster base from the Theater of Pompey found in the excavations of 2003.

(Prop. 2.32.11). The Severan marble plan suggests that the “double groves” of plane trees mentioned by Martial and Propertius ran along the sides of the garden (fig. 5.25).⁴⁹ In its center, a grande allée connected the Curia Pompeia with the massive triumphal arch that screened the three entrances to the *scaenae frons*. Two long, rectangular water basins flanked the allée. Both probably had statuary, although we have reference only to one fountain statue, a sleeping Maro (Prop. 2.32.11). Rows of statues on pedestals stood at the sides of the water basins.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Mart. *Ep.* 2.14.10; Prop. 2.32.11; Grimal 1943: 184–88; Gleason 1990: 10–11; 1994: 19.

⁵⁰ There is no certainty on the arrangement of the gardens. In fig. 5.25, based on the plan of the Theater of Pompey on the Forma Urbis, Carettoni *et al.* 1960: 2.pl. 32 (= fig. 5.17), I assume a row of trees along each side of the garden. I identify as statues the dots-in-squares that flank the two central rectangles (pools?). However, for Grimal 1943: 184, they are columns; for L. Richardson 1987: 126, trees, and for Gleason 1990: 12, figs. 8a–b, wooden arbors (cf. Gleason 1994: 20–23, figs. 7–10). In his discussion of symbols on the Marble Plan, Carettoni *et al.* 1960: 1.202 also identifies as columns the dots-in-squares on this fragment, but, since the columns of the peristyle porticoes thereon are simple dots, the dots-in-squares here must be something else.

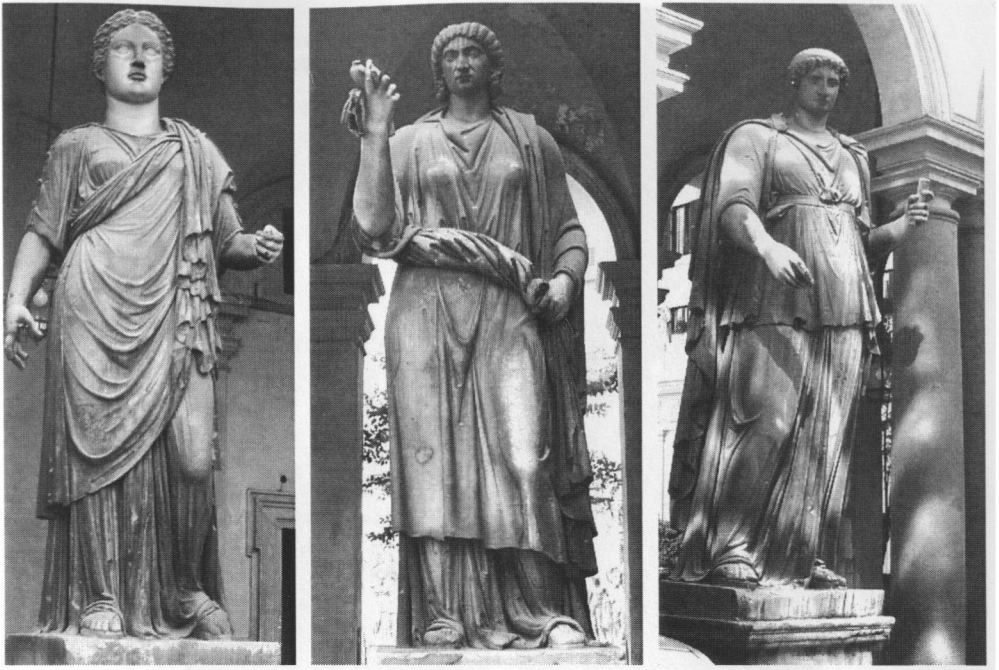


Fig. 5.21 Statues from the stage of the Theater of Pompey now in the courtyard of the Palazzo Borghese, Rome. From left to right: "Muse," "Thalia," and "Apollo."

When finished and opened to the public in 55 BC, Pompey's Theater framed public amusements in a sumptuous new setting, and it was widely and deservedly popular. At its opening, Pompey both edified the educated with gymnastic and musical contests and pandered to the mob with lion hunts and a fight between elephants.⁵¹ Thereafter, the Theater immediately became *the* center for most public spectacles.⁵² The colonnades behind it, which, as Vitruvius advises (5.9.1), provided shelter for audiences in case of rain and storage areas for scenery, and the splendid new gardens were also equally popular as places to promenade, to meet friends and lovers, old or new (Prop. 4.8.75; Mart. *Ep.* 11.1.11), and simply to watch the antics of the other visitors.

Yet the Theater of Pompey did far more than simply amuse and accommodate the public. Its very existence, the splendid realization of an architectural

⁵¹ Plin. *HN* 8.20, 64, 70, 84; Beacham 1991: 162.

⁵² Suet. *Ner.* 13.2; Plin. *HN* 33.54; Dio Cass. 62.6.1–2: for Tiridates, King of Armenia, Nero used the theater for one of his most famous entertainments. Gilding the stage, the surrounding structures, and all the stage properties, he shaded the audience under a purple *velarium* that showed the emperor himself driving a chariot among the stars.

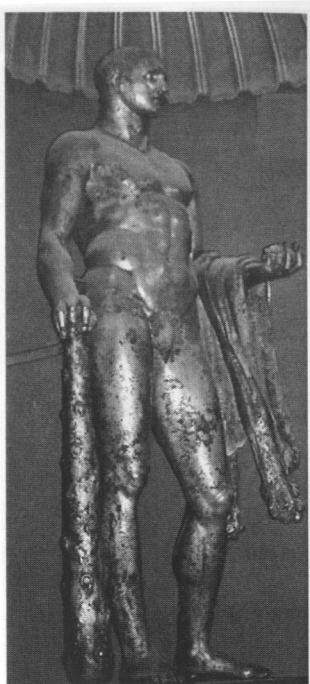


Fig. 5.22 The “Hercules Righetti” in the Vatican Museums.

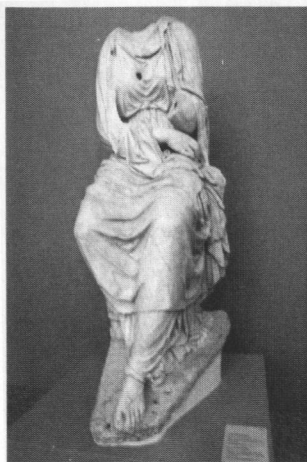


Fig. 5.23 The seated muse from the peristyle behind the Theater of Pompey, now in the Museo Centrale di Montemartini.

type long forbidden by Rome’s rulers, suggested a weakened senate. For the future, Rome’s most successful generals and their imperial successors were clearly the city’s developers. Their conquests would fund projects that would bring to the capital the sophisticated concepts, the materials, and the organization of the Hellenistic East. And, in a way not well understood by modern scholars since the remains of the Theater are now hidden and difficult of access, Pompey’s project grandiosely illustrated the extraordinary effects that a cultivated patron, refined by a long stay in the East, combined with the abilities of a supremely talented architect (or architects), could produce. Initiating the development of the capital in a new, previously unoccupied area, the Theater also demonstrated how existing techniques of construction (concrete walls and vaults combined with local stone and foreign marbles) could produce a completely original structure. Bigger and more efficiently planned than any previous similar monument, the new Theater had a lofty façade that towered over the surrounding neighborhood. Its superimposed arcades with engaged architectural orders became a famous landmark that



Fig. 5.24 The frieze fragment, perhaps from the peristyle behind the Theater of Pompey, now in the Museo Centrale di Montemartini.

was, shortly afterwards, copied in Rome and throughout the empire. The internal halls and stairways structured crowd access and accommodation in an orderly, rational fashion never seen before. And the elegance of the décor – a profusion of marbles, gilt bronze statues, and paintings by Greek masters – brought home to the Roman masses the results of empire. Pompey's glorification of his own achievements was successful beyond his greatest ambitions. Despite the later construction of two more theaters in the reign of Augustus, those of Balbus and Marcellus, and an Odeum or concert hall added by the Emperor Domitian (fig. 5.26),⁵³ Pompey's complex remained

⁵³ Ciancio Rossetto and Sartorio 1994: 2.599–600 (Theater of Balbus), 603 (Odeum of Domitian); Tosi 2003: 1.24–27; vol. 2, pl. 2.28–43 (theaters of Balbus and Marcellus), 1.28–29 (Odeum of Domitian).

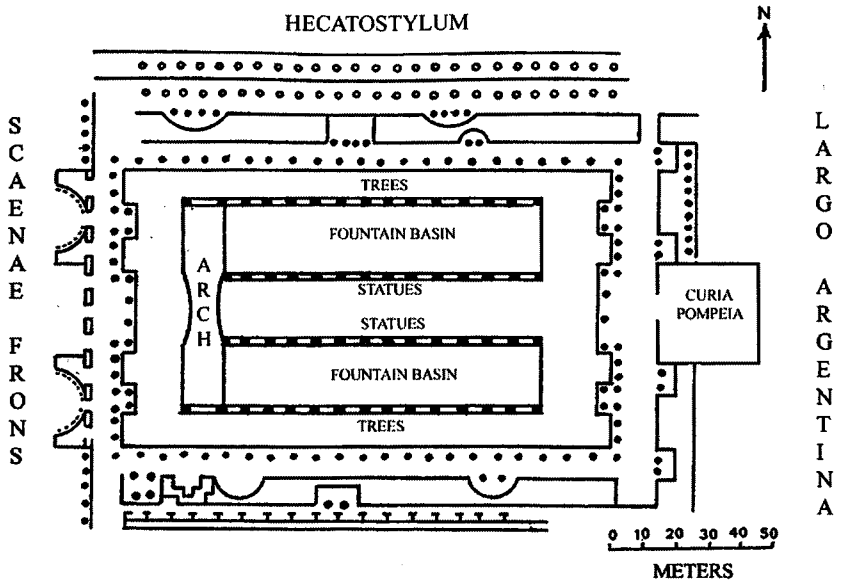


Fig. 5.25 Schematic plan of the peristyle gardens behind the *scaenae frons* in the Theater of Pompey.

Rome's chief theater, and it was lovingly maintained until the end of the Empire and even for some years thereafter.⁵⁴

* * *

Pompey's theater thus established a high standard for future imperial projects. They would be costly. Only the finest materials from across the Mediterranean basin would be used. Gifted architects would execute the plans; the most highly skilled craftsmen in Rome would undertake the construction. To increase the donor's popularity and magnify his fame, contemporary and posthumous, citizens would be granted free use of the completed monuments, but the elaborate architectural and sculptural decorations would commemorate not only patriotic episodes in Roman history but also the life and career of the patron and the most important elements of his propaganda. Such were the characteristics that distinguish most of Augustus' public works – their sheer number surpasses the munificence of any previous donor – whether encompassing several buildings (like the Forum of Augustus) or only an individual structure sponsored by a family member.

⁵⁴ Cassiod. *Var.* 4.51 (Theodoric entrusts repairs of the Theater of Pompey to Symmachus); Symm. *Rel.* 8.3 (stage plays as "current government expenses").

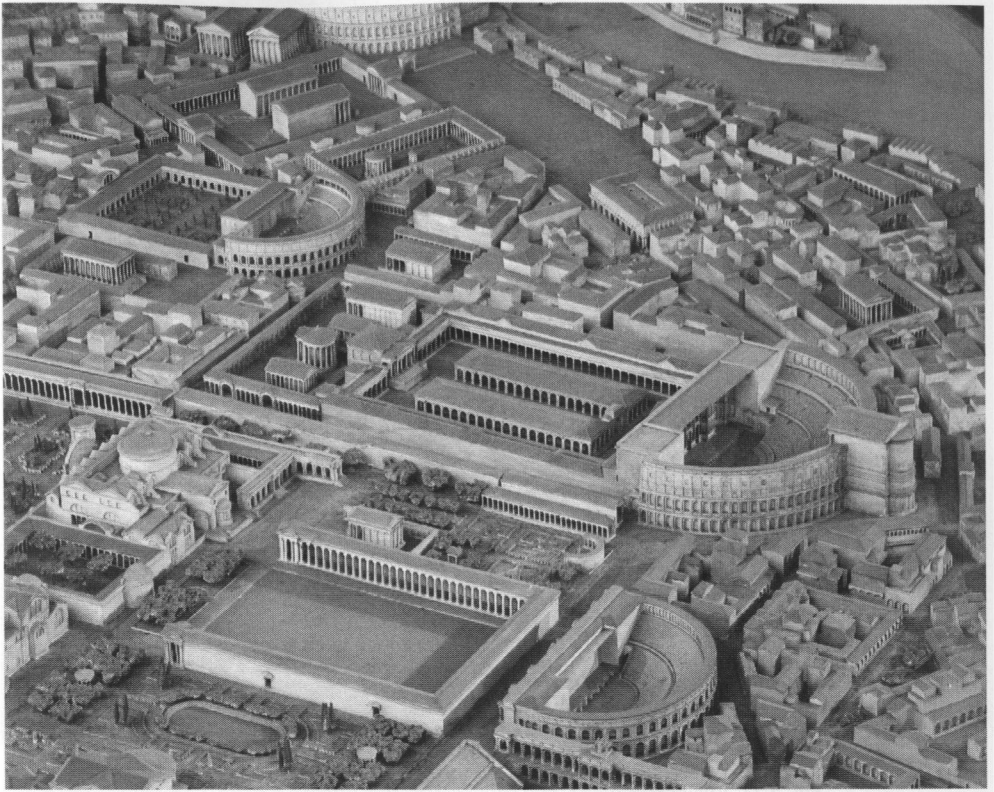


Fig. 5.26 The model of Ancient Rome in the Museum of Roman Civilization: the Campus Martius with (below) the Odeum of Domitian, (center) the Theater of Pompey, (upper left) the Theater of Balbus, and (above, right) the Theater of Marcellus.

The Temple of Concord represents the latter kind of project, the necessary rebuilding of an important preexisting monument by Tiberius, Augustus' stepson, the potential heir to the imperial throne. Like Pompey's theater, the temple demonstrated the superior political position and *fama* of its patron. Yet, if the theater accomplished these goals only by novelty of plan and size, the temple combined scale, elegantly luxurious design, stunningly rich materials, and famous works of art. Architecturally, temple and theater were very different entities, but both were consummate displays of political and economic power clothed in artfully calculated representation.

Begun in 7 BC, the construction took nearly seventeen years. During part of this time, while out of favor with Augustus, Tiberius went into voluntary exile in Rhodes (6 BC–AD 2), and the work on the Temple may have slowed or stopped during his absence. But with the death of Augustus' grandsons,



Fig. 5.27 View of the podium of the Temple of Concord.

Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Tiberius returned to favor, and on January 16, AD 10, he dedicated his restored temple.⁵⁵

It was an impressive accomplishment. All that survives today, the high podium (fig. 5.27),⁵⁶ was of concrete poured in a rectangular frame of tufa blocks around and over the older foundation of the earlier, late second-century BC temple. Owing to the close proximity of the Clivus Capitolinus at the front of the site and the Tabularium at its back, the cella was uncharacteristically at right angles to the pronaos. The podium and, except for a back wall of travertine blocks, the cella walls were faced with white Luna marble.⁵⁷ Thin recesses at the joints of the blocks will have visually separated them from one another, and the large-scale order was finely finished. The generous proportions of the entablature (fig. 5.28) show that the columns of the pronaos were massive (approximately

⁵⁵ Gasparri c. 1979: 17–19; *LTUR* 1: 317 (Ferroni).

⁵⁶ Nash 1961: 1.292–93, figs. 344, 346; Gasparri c. 1979: 31–37, pl. 1; *LTUR* 1: 317.

⁵⁷ Gasparri c. 1979: 42; *LTUR* 1: 318.

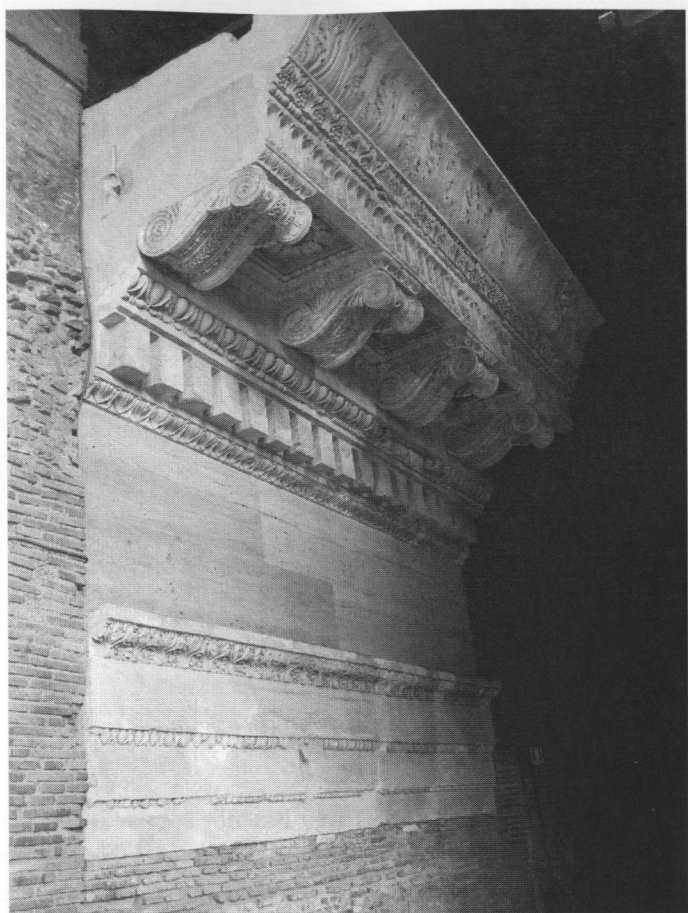


Fig. 5.28 Reconstructed entablature of the Temple of Concord now in the Tabularium.

50 RF high).⁵⁸ The richly decorated column bases from the interior suggest that those of the porch were similarly decorated,⁵⁹ and, like the bases, the Corinthian capitals were of white marble and were similar to those of the recently completed temple of Mars Ultor.⁶⁰ The height of the architrave (0.777 m) allowed elaborate detail (fig. 5.28): the molding that separates the middle and upper fascia was decorated with a small egg-and-dart pattern, and the upper cyma reversa had a stirrup-framed leaf-and-dart design

⁵⁸ Gasparri c. 1979: 47–50. The shafts have disappeared; Toebelmann 1923: 1, fig. 47, restores their height as 17.60 m with diameters of 1.78 m.

⁵⁹ Gasparri c. 1979: 57, 95–102, pls. 8, 10, 11.2, 12–17.

⁶⁰ Ganzert 1996: 1.149–57, pls. 60–61, 65–69; *Roma Antiqua* (1985), 139, fig. 71 (restoration by Noguet).



Fig. 5.29 Capital from the interior of the Temple of Concord.

(repeated above on the cornice).⁶¹ The frieze has not survived, but the chief features of the cornice (1.52 m high) were an elaborate cyma recta decorated with acanthus leaves in low relief, broad and ornately carved modillions, and identical rosettes between the modillions in the recessed soffit panels.⁶² The effect of this elaborate decoration on the exterior of the finished building must have been impressive with dramatic alternations of light and shade. Tiberian sestertii record the simple, elegantly proportioned windows that lighted the cella and the engaged columns at the corners of the façade (fig. 5.30; Gasparri *c.* 1979: 74–75).

In plan, the cella was a spacious, rectangular chamber (internal dimensions 19.20 × 41.60 m or 65 × 140 RF; Gasparri *c.* 1979: 38, 65–68) with a columned podium at the back and sides. Facing the door and at the center of each side, these podia projected as tabernacles. Niches flanked the wider central tabernacle, and all the tabernacles probably had pediments, triangular perhaps at the back of the room, half-round at the sides (Gasparri *c.* 1979: 41–44, 65–67). The preserved africano threshold of the large-scale

⁶¹ Ibid. 73–74. Toebelmann 1923: 1, fig. 47.

⁶² Toebelmann 1923: 1, fig. 47; Gasparri *c.* 1979: 74–75.



Fig. 5.30 Sestertius with the façade of the Temple of Concord.

door (8 m, 27 RF wide) introduced visitors to the polychrome interior (*ibid.* 38–40, 43, fig. 28). Its base molding was of cipollino with a giallo antico cornice; the walls above were veneered with pavonazzetto (*ibid.* 41, figs. 25, 42). The two tori of the Asiatic column bases were richly decorated with deeply cut acanthus leaves. Bead-and-reel enlivened the half-round moldings; hollow tongue, the scotias (see above, n. 59). The fluted shafts were of giallo antico, pavonazzetto, and africano (Gasparri c. 1979: 57–58), the same materials used in the geometric design on the floor (*ibid.* 67–68, pl. 24). The elegantly executed Corinthianizing capitals feature leaping rams in place of the usual volutes (fig. 5.29),⁶³ a visual reminder of the Pegasus figures similarly used in the interior of the Temple of Mars Ultor.⁶⁴ Only the cornice for the interior columns has been partially preserved. Although its small size did not permit modillions, it is otherwise very similar to the cornice of the exterior order (Gasparri c. 1979: 59). Above was an attic (with a figured frieze perhaps), a final cornice and (no doubt) a richly decorated coffered wooden ceiling.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 58–59, pls. 18 (= fig. 30), 19, 20.1.

⁶⁴ Ganzert 1996: 1.203–05, pls. 86–87.

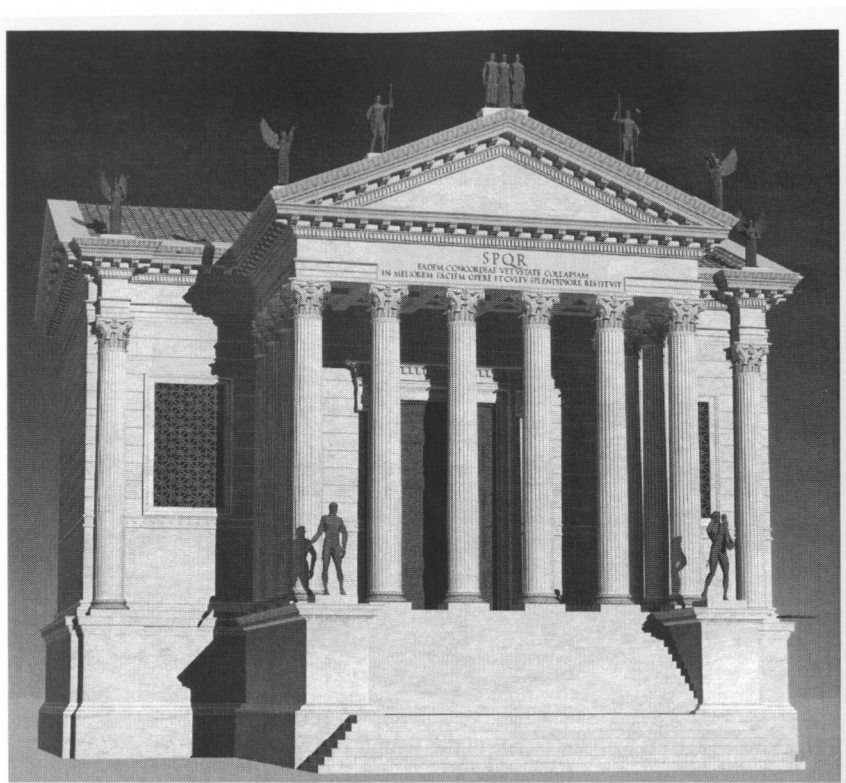


Fig. 5.31 Reconstructed view of the Temple of Concordia.

The partially numismatic, partially documentary evidence for the statues displayed on and in the building (cf. figs. 5.30, 5.31) suggests that both Tiberius and Augustus saw the temple as a significant monument (ibid. 21–22). The Mercury on the podium projection left of the entry stair recalled Augustus’ recent identification as the “New Mercury.” The Hercules on the right visually cited Vergil’s hero whose victory over monsters had predestined the rise of Rome. The victories at the corners of the pediment appear to offer crowns to the two youthful male figures on its sides, probably portraits of Tiberius and Drusus. And the three figures at the apex of the pediment represent the goddess Concordia between male figures that may have personified the plebs and the patricians.⁶⁵ Inside, the seated statues in the tabernacles must have represented Concordia (facing the door) flanked perhaps in the lateral tabernacles by representations of Augustus and

⁶⁵ The identification of these figures is far from certain. Gasparri c. 1979: 21 suggests “tre Grazie o tre personificazioni esprimenti Concordia”; Ferroni, in *LTUR* 1: 318, calls the flanking figures “Tiberio e Druso.”

Livia and with images of Drusus and Tiberius in the two niches flanking Concordia.⁶⁶ According to Pliny the Elder, there were other famous works of sculpture, and in the cella,⁶⁷ while Augustus' gift of four obsidian elephants recalled images from Caesarian propaganda, they also represented the sun, the associations of a well-regulated and monogamous family life. Formerly beasts of war, they now peacefully served the emperor Augustus (Kellum 1990: 283–87).

Tiberius' project was thus enormously important (fig. 5.31). The original Temple of Concord was traditionally assigned to Marcus Furius Camillus, dictator in 367 BC, and commemorated the end of the long struggle for the consulship between the patricians and the plebs.⁶⁸ As rebuilt by the consul Lucius Opimius in 121 BC, the temple had celebrated the accomplishments of the patricio-plebeian aristocracy. Its location, the north end of the northwest side of the Forum on the slopes of the Capitoline Hill, could not be changed, and Opimius' restoration had established its general plan. Whereas Pompey's Theater had been the greatest and most original Roman architectural project of its generation, the Temple of Concord was a conventional monument. Yet, like the Theater of Pompey, it was also a major undertaking. Commemorating important events in the history of the Republic, its restoration had both to honor that past suitably and, as the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* (the Temple of Augustan Concord), to demonstrate, on one of the most visible sites in Rome, the worth, abilities, taste, and resources of the new ruling dynasty. Its simple but elegant design, its rich, imported marbles, its complex and consummately executed architectural sculpture, and its celebrated imported paintings and statues, admirably realized these ambitions. This was a building which clearly demonstrated that, if Pompey had set the standard for future imperial architectural patronage fifty years earlier, Rome's new rulers had studied and assimilated his techniques. With no senatorial rivals and with full command of the resources of the Mediterranean, they could now embellish the capital in a style that rivaled Pompey's and pointed the way toward the future.

⁶⁶ The identity of these statues is again murky. Gasparri c. 1979: 67 supposes that the statues in the side tabernacles are, on one side, the Aesculapius and Hygeia of the sculptor Niceratos and, on the other, the Latrona and her young sons by Euphranor. Kellum 1990: 278–81, fig. 14, puts Mars and Mercury in the left tabernacle, Juno and Apollo in the right one.

⁶⁷ Pliny attributes thirteen statues by Greek masters to the Temple of Concord (*HN* 34.73, 89, 90; 35.66, 144), and he notes also that the Temple had a sardonix from the ring of Polycrates, the famous sixth-century BC tyrant of Syracuse (37.4). For a discussion of the sculpture, see Kellum 1990: 278–83.

⁶⁸ Gasparri c. 1979: 16–10; *LTUR* 1: 317; Kellum 1990: 277–78.

Security in the homeland

MARY T. BOATWRIGHT

From the smooth accession of Antoninus Pius in AD 138 to the violent assassination of Commodus in 192, the city of Rome saw numerous changes in its public space (fig. 6.1).¹ Antonine Rome, however, has been difficult to grasp. Literary sources are terse about the Roman building activities of these two emperors and of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus,² and the archaeological data are unusually complex.³ Even fairly abundant numismatic evidence, as for Pius' renovations of bridges or of the Temple of the deified Augustus, is problematic. We cannot ascertain the effects of the fire(s) and earthquake late in Commodus' rule,⁴ and earlier changes seem tied to unpredictable events: the death of Faustina the Elder in 141, and the Antonine plague and Marcomannic Wars that broke out in 166/167. Further, direct agency is hard to determine: the emperor was always Rome's great patron, but Antonine Rome is also a senatorial product, with the senate claiming responsibility for the Temple of Faustina and the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. And there is always the possibility that new finds will drastically alter our understanding

¹ This essay investigates new or renovated buildings and juridical boundaries, although imperial public statuary and portraits also affected public space (e.g., Dio 72.3.5; Hdn. 1.14.9; Fronto, *Ad Marc.* 4.12 = Naber 72, Loeb I: 206).

² E.g., of the report in *HA*, Pius 8.2, nothing corroborates work at the Graecostadium, amphitheater, or Pantheon (*templum Agrippae*), and only the first two and last named restorations are usually accepted: Walentowski 1998: 221–24; *LTUR* 1: 31 (Rea). The *HA* lacks a similar rubric for Marcus (despite noting attention to city streets, *Marc.* 11.5), and it specifies that Commodus left no public works except the bath in his name and ornamental additions to the Colossus (*Comm.* 17.5, 17.9; Hdn. 1.12.4; *LTUR* 5: 49 [Capodiferro]; see also Daguet-Gagey 1997: 258–64). For Marcus Aurelius, Cassius Dio reports only a Temple to Beneficence (72.34.3), otherwise unattested and never located: *LTUR* 3: 95 (Reusser). Thomas 2007, which appeared after the present essay was completed, evaluates Roman monumental architecture throughout the empire. Accepting the literary sources for Antoninus Pius' work in Rome uncritically (including *HA*, Pius 8.2) and without addressing buildings within their urban contexts, Thomas concludes that Pius' "monuments . . . supported his self presentation as the *princeps* . . . celebrating a new age of Rome" (2007: 35). He has little to say on the building activity of other Antonines in Rome, citing the paucity of the evidence (2007: 50–1).

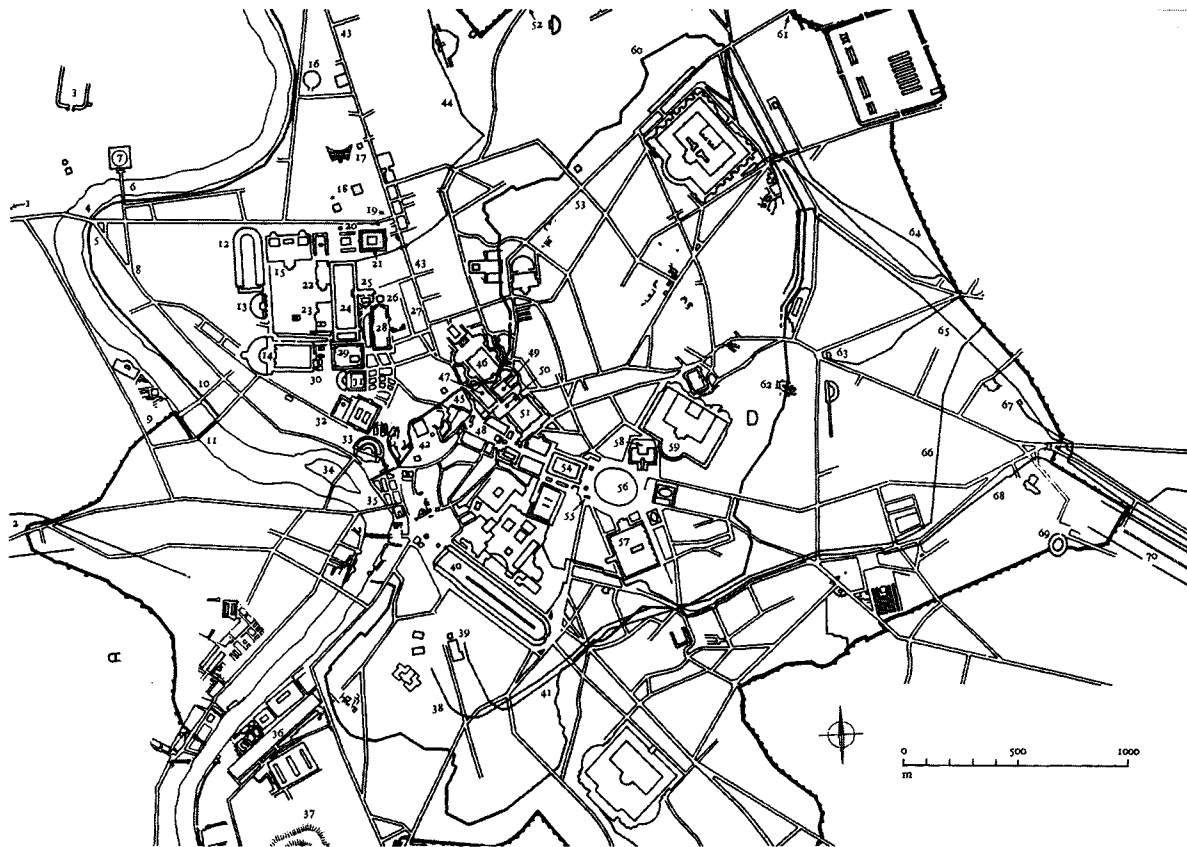
³ Often forcing inconclusive stylistic arguments: Vogel 1973: 3, on the presence of distinctive "styles" on the pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius. Strong 1953 is fundamental for early Antonine style.

⁴ See, e.g., Hdn. 1.14.1–4; Daguet-Gagey 1997: 40–63, with sources and tentative plans for the path and destruction of the fire(s); Guidoboni 1989: 604. Nor can we tell how Commodus' *damnatio memoriae* affected his buildings and their record.

Fig. 6.1 The imperial city of Rome (as known in the early fourth century AD). Monuments initiated or sponsored by Antonines are shaded (and only non-conjectural locations are marked): 18: Antonine consecration altars and the Column of Antoninus Pius; 19: Column of Marcus Aurelius; 21: Hadrianeum, with Arch to its northeast; and the Temple of Faustina and Pius in the Roman Forum (Forum is 48; the triangular structure southwest of the Temple of Faustina is the Regia).

The three shaded Antonine bridges are the Pons Agrippae, Pons Cestius, and Pons Sublicius (from north to south on the Tiber River). The Via Flaminia is 43, the long street running roughly northwest-southeast. Part of the Via Appia, on which was the Arch of the deified Verus (exact location unknown), can be seen at bottom center below the compass rose. Other monuments mentioned in the text and/or useful for orientation are

(here cited roughly west to east): 4 – Pons Neronianus; 7 – Mausoleum of Hadrian; 6 – Pons Aelius; 16 – Mausoleum of Augustus; 17 – Horologium of Augustus and Ara Pacis; 22 – Pantheon, with forecourt north of it; south of 20 are the Hadrianic temple and porticoes honoring Matidia and Marciana; 24 – Saepta Julia; 14 – Theater of Pompey; the Temple of Bellona is north of 33, the Theater of Marcellus; 42 – Capitoline Hill; 46 – Forum of Trajan, with Column of Trajan enclosed in a courtyard northwest of it and presumed location of the Temple of Trajan (and Plotina) northwest of that; 54 – Temple of Venus and Roma; 55 – Arch of Constantine; and 56 – Colosseum.



of Rome's buildings and texture of life during the lengthy Antonine era. Nevertheless, the publication of the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, and other research now makes it possible to assess as a whole the outwardly incoherent material that is now known. An investigation attending to place, image, and culture can illuminate the city of Rome itself, which is better known in the preceding and following eras, as well as wider questions of the Antonine period. Despite emphasis on enduring Roman values – family, imperial authority, and archaic Roman traditions – Antonine urban works can be seen to reflect anxiety about Rome's dominance of a familiar empire (cf. Purcell 2000: 409–23, esp. 419). By the time of Commodus' death, this uneasiness overshadowed the earlier conception of city and empire perceptible at Pius' accession over fifty years earlier.

I. Early monuments: the Hadrianeum and related arch

The early years of Pius' rule did not see dramatic changes in the capital city. Pius dutifully carried through work left unfinished by Hadrian at his death in 138 – the Mausoleum across the Tiber, and the massive Temple of Venus and Roma⁵ – and initially his own constructions reflect Hadrianic design and programs. Most obvious in this regard is the Hadrianeum (fig. 6.2). Pius had this temple built between 139, when at his insistence the Roman senate ratified Hadrian's deification, and 145, when the temple was dedicated on the day Lucius Verus assumed his *toga virilis*.⁶ North and almost parallel to its large precinct ran the Roman street, now known as the Via Recta, that cut through the Campus Martius between the Via Flaminia and the Pons Neronianus (see fig. 6.1). Immediately west of the new temple rose the Hadrianic monuments honoring Matidia and Marciana, with a cardinal orientation echoed by that of the Hadrianeum. Pius' temple to his deified predecessor furthered a dynastic use of the central Campus Martius that Hadrian had stressed, and it was to be followed, as we see below with the Antonine consecration altars, by other monuments honoring members of the Antonine family. Yet this first Antonine monument differs significantly from most subsequent ones.

The Hadrianeum was predominantly "Greek": a peripteral temple of *opisthodomos* plan, with a superstructure of Proconnesian marble

⁵ E.g., Boatwright 1987: 170, 123–24; L. Richardson 1992: 249–51, 409–11; Strong 1953: 122–23.

⁶ HA, Pius 8.2, Verus 3.1; CIL 15.161, 186, 1068, 7929. Cozza 1982: 7: lead pipes confirm Pius as patron.



Fig. 6.2 Hadrianeum, model now on display in the Piazza di Pietra, Rome.

demonstrating Greek Asiatic work and featuring 8 by 13 Corinthian columns 50 RF high. But the temple also incorporated Roman design elements: a high podium with frontal emphasis on broad steps, and a coffered concrete, barrel-vaulted cella with an engaged order.⁷ The northern exterior wall (in peperino ashlar) of the large precinct has been traced; it featured a large curved exedra (with a portico at least partly with giallo antico columns) reminiscent of Hadrianic buildings such as the Library of Hadrian in Athens.⁸ An important element of Rome's Hadrianeum was the series of Proconnesian marble reliefs known as the "province" reliefs, now preserved in Rome, Naples, and elsewhere (fig. 6.3).⁹ In a scale compatible with the exterior order of the Hadrianeum, twenty-two depict personifications of provinces and peoples of the Roman empire, although identifications are

⁷ Claridge 1998: 199–201; *LTUR* 3: 7–8 (Cipollone); Pensabene 1996: 241. Interior order 36 RF high.

⁸ Claridge 1999: 120–21; *LTUR* 3: 8; Sapelli 1999: 22–23. Library of Hadrian: Boatwright 2000: 153–57.

⁹ Full catalogue in Sapelli 1999: 28–82. For the reliefs' findspots, see Claridge 1999: 117–19. Median size of the reliefs, most displayed at the Musei Capitolini and Palazzo Massimo in Rome and Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples: 1.35 × 2.00 m.



(a)



(b)

Fig. 6.3 (a) Provincial relief in Museo Nazionale Romano in Pal. Massimo alle Terme; (b) trophy relief now in Musei Capitolini.

disputed.¹⁰ Ten others in the series show military trophies.¹¹ The series' style leads most to date them early in Pius' rule.¹² Their original placement is controversial, but I follow Claridge and others in locating them on the attic of the peristyle demarcating the temple's precinct.¹³

The more deeply drilled and individualized personifications effectively contrast the stylized, isolated military trophies.¹⁴ The figures, rather than the emblems of military subjugation, embody Hadrian's more inclusive

¹⁰ Most follow the suggestions of Toynbee 1934: 156–59.

¹¹ Sapelli 1999: 32 no. 2, 36 no. 4, 56 no. 11, 60 no. 14, 62 no. 16, 64 no. 18, 80–81 nos. 30–2; Polito 1998: 198; Claridge 1999: 117.

¹² Generally dated to 145, at the Hadrianum's dedication, and by analogy with the apotheosis reliefs on the Arco di Portogallo and Column of Antoninus Pius. But their technique prompts Sapelli 1999: 22–23 to date them to the 150s (and to locate them on the surrounding peristyle, finished after the temple itself).

¹³ Claridge 1999: 121–25 (superseding Claridge 1998: 201), refuting proposed locations on the Hadrianum's interior walls (e.g., *LTUR* 3: 8; Toynbee 1934: 154–55), or podium (e.g., Polito 1998: 198).

¹⁴ Kleiner 1992: 284–85, on the personifications' style.

vision of a diverse empire.¹⁵ Their classicizing style also harmonizes with the Hadrianeum's predominantly Greek appearance, and with Hadrian's noted philhellenism. Analogously, the closed-in nature of the overall structure resembles the general design of Hadrian's buildings nearby, the Pantheon with its forecourt, and the Temple of Matidia with its adjacencies (see fig. 6.1).¹⁶ All these structures, south of the Via Recta, were aligned with one another. The buildings and their orthogonal layout, developing from Hadrian's Pantheon and its celebration of the first *princeps*, asserted a peaceful, well-organized Roman world. Pius' assumption of Hadrianic programs and the smooth transition of imperial power are reflected in the city plan.

Another monument stylistically dated early in Pius' rule similarly proclaims general confidence in imperial peace: the arch near the Hadrianeum on the Via Flaminia at the later piazza Sciarra.¹⁷ Descriptions of the sixteenth century record dismemberment of a ruined arch here that featured two historiated reliefs.¹⁸ One, the *Adventus Augusti* relief, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig. 6.4);¹⁹ its companion, which at an early date had inserted on it the head of Lucius Verus, is now in the Torlonia collection (fig. 6.5).²⁰ Since in 1572 Ligorio associated this arch with victories Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus gained over the Marcomanni, Sarmati, and "Armeni" (Parthians), we can conclude that the heads of these two emperors were on the reliefs by his day.²¹ But no portrait linked with these reliefs is original, complicating interpretation.

Similarities of size, material, style, and iconography do argue that the two reliefs once belonged to the same monument.²² In 1942 Castagnoli

¹⁵ E.g., Polito 1998: 198; Toynbee 1934: 155.

¹⁶ Pensabene 1996: 241, contrasting the Temple of Faustina.

¹⁷ Between the modern via di Pietra and via Montecatini. See VZ III: 19, 81, 185; IV: 120, for the *arcus Antonini* or *arcus de Tosectis* near the Column of Marcus Aurelius (De Maria 1988: 300–02, no. 86; Castagnoli 1942: 74–75; no entry in *LTUR*). *LTUR* 1: 112 *ad loc.* "Arcus divi Veri" (Palombi), confuses two monuments. I consider Hadrianic the Arco di Portogallo, which was not at the Hadrianeum (see De Maria 1988: 301; Castagnoli 1942).

¹⁸ Castagnoli 1942: 74–82; Koeppl 1969: 156–58; Cianfarani 1949–50; De Maria 1988: pl. 76. Ligorio's description of 1570 (Castagnoli 1942: 75–76, 79; Cafiero 1986: 12) places the arch alongside the via del Corso.

¹⁹ The relief is also called the "adventus Hadriani" relief, since Hadrian's portrait was wrongly inserted on it in the early 1900s: Cafiero 1986: 12. I have no explanation for the choice of Hadrian.

²⁰ The head of Lucius Verus is undersized for the body. De Maria 1988: 301 dates its placement to the sixteenth century.

²¹ Ligorio is quoted in Castagnoli 1942: 76. A head of Marcus Aurelius once also associated with the *adventus* relief dates to the Severan period: Cafiero 1986: 15–16.

²² Cafiero 1986: 15, 16, n. 27: Capitoline relief now 2.63 (within original cornice 2.10) × 3.50 m (maximum original height c. 2.71 m) × c. 0.3 m, probably Luna marble; Torlonia, now 2.10 (within cornice) × 2.26 (missing 1/3 the original height). See also Cianfarani 1949–50: 249–53.

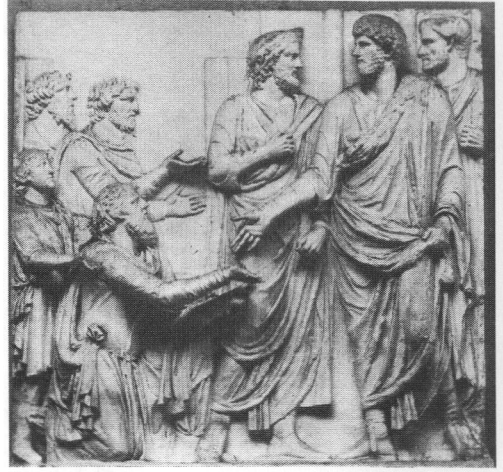


Fig. 6.4 “Adventus Augusti” relief now in Musei Capitolini.

Fig. 6.5 Cast of relief of barbarian embassy to togate emperor (from Antonine arch near the Hadrianum).

convincingly contended that they come from an arch erected early in Pius’ rule and associated with the deified Hadrian.²³ *Pace* Ligorio, both reliefs show non-military scenes as they feature a togate emperor and the personification of the Roman senate.²⁴ The Torlonia relief depicts, in an urban setting, three barbarian men and a barbarian boy, who entreat a togate emperor attended by a personification of the Roman senate and by another male. The scene must be an embassy from a foreign group in Rome itself, rather than the capitulation of the enemy on the battlefield (Cafiero 1986: 14–15). In the Conservatori’s *Adventus* relief Roma, in Amazon costume and with personifications of the Roman senate and people, reaches her right hand out to meet the right hand of a togate emperor. Behind her is a city gate.²⁵ The scene resembles *adventus* coins of Hadrian that show him in a toga rather than in military costume.²⁶ The two reliefs thus call attention to

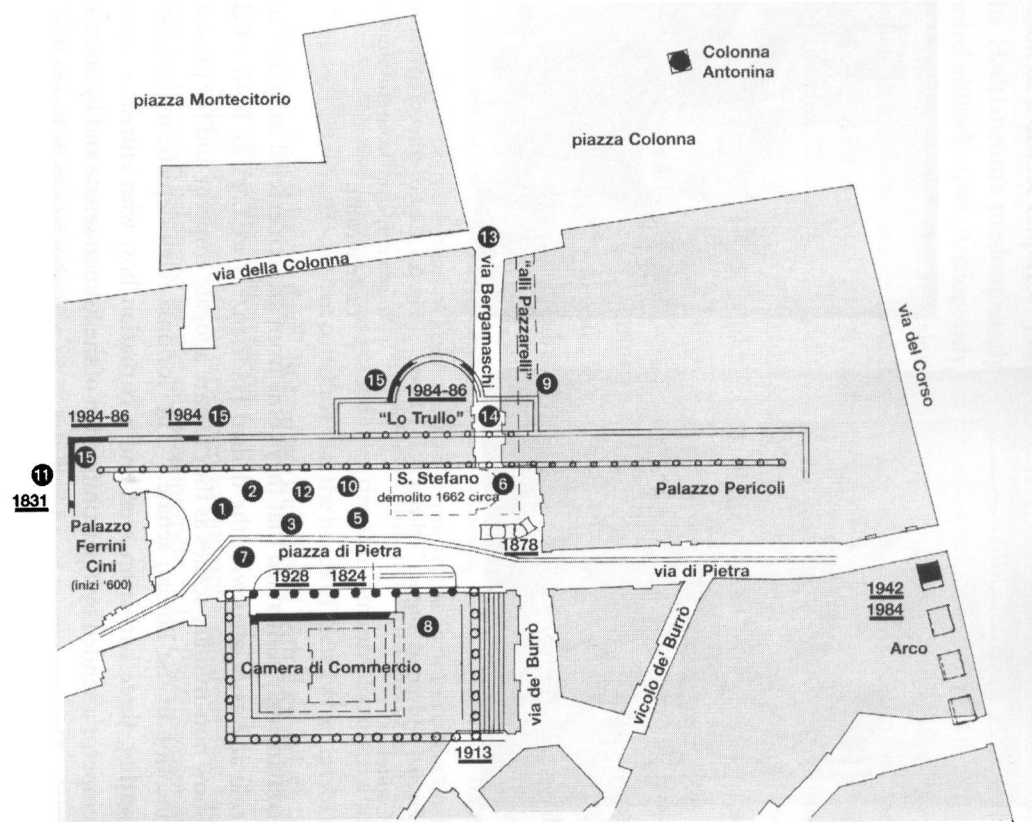
²³ Castagnoli 1942: 80–81; De Maria 1988: 301; Cafiero 1986: 15.

²⁴ Castagnoli 1942: 79–80; Cafiero 1986: 13–15.

²⁵ Rodríguez Almeida 1978–79/1979–80: 203–05, identifies the relief’s arch as a *porta pomerii*. See also Koeppel 1969: 156–57. The globe is a restoration for what was probably a *dextrarum iunctio*.

²⁶ Aurei of 134–38: BMC 3.465 no. 1477, pl. 87.1; 3.315–16 nos. 580–88, pl. 58.15–18; Castagnoli 1942: 80; Cafiero 1986: 13–14; Koeppel 1969: 183–84. De Maria 1988: 301 identifies the relief with the *adventus* of Hadrian from Illyricum in 118, but this is too early; W. Eck has suggested to me an *adventus* of 132.

Fig. 6.6 Plan of Hadrianeum and adjacencies, superimposed on Rome's modern street plan. The remains presumed to be from the Antonine arch ("Arco") are just west of the via del Corso and south of the via di Pietra. Part of the cult temple of the Hadrianeum was built into the structure now serving as Rome's Chamber of Commerce ("Camera di Commercio"). The "Colonna Antonina" is the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Circled numbers refer to findspots of material relating to the Hadrianeum, and the underlined four-digit numbers are the dates of various excavations and finds (not all discussed in text). From Claridge in Sapelli 1999: 118.



the emperor's non-military achievements, including peaceful acceptance of barbarians into Rome rather than the traditional military subjugation and enslavement. In a somewhat bland style, both sculptural pieces present the emperor in civilian garb. They emphasize the impact of peaceful policies on city and empire.

Iconography and style thus assimilate the piazza Sciarra reliefs to the Hadrianeum, and to Hadrian's policies. Yet difficulties remain. Sparse archaeological evidence for the arch comes from alongside the Corso (the ancient Via Flaminia) and has this street's orientation (fig. 6.6).²⁷ If the arch formed part of the entrance wall of the temenos, that wall would be oblique to the rest of the precinct. Such a design is not unprecedented,²⁸ but it would be unusual in the orthogonal, regular layout of the central Campus Martius during the empire. Further, extending the temenos all the way to the Via Flaminia would make for an uncommonly long precinct.²⁹ For the moment the topography of arch and Hadrianeum remains unclear.³⁰ We also cannot identify who sponsored the arch, or exactly when. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the arch invited those on the Via Flaminia to turn aside into the central Campus Martius. The non-military reliefs harmonized well with the religious and social development Augustus and subsequent emperors had brought to this area and which had decreased its Republican military functions and associations.

II. The Temple of the deified Faustina (and Pius), and the restoration of the Temple of the deified Augustus

But other Antonine public works in Rome are not so compatible with the city monumentalized by Hadrian and his predecessors. One catalyst may have been the death of Faustina the Elder in 141: the Temple to her in the Roman Forum differs in many respects from the almost contemporaneous Hadrianeum. On a high podium on the northeast side of the Forum, the Temple of the deified Faustina towered over the Regia and the *aedes*

²⁷ Claridge 1999: 118; *LTUR* 3: 8 (Cipollone), figs. 1, 5: *opera quadrata* (peperino blocks 80 cm high) and calcestruzzo, overall c. 5 x 2.80 x 3.5 m, perhaps the pier of an arch.

²⁸ E.g., the Building of Eumachia on Pompeii's forum.

²⁹ No plan of the Campus Martius known to me shows the temenos of the Hadrianeum extending all the way to the Via Flaminia, despite assumptions of an "accesso ad E dalla via Lata" (e.g., *LTUR* 3: 8).

³⁰ Although De Maria 1988: 135 assumes a close topographical relationship between arch and temple, he is more cautious elsewhere (ibid.: 301).

of Vesta.³¹ Its constricted location in the traditional, but crowded, heart of Rome is emphasized by the placement of its altar on its wide frontal staircase.³² A prostyle design with cippollino columns 48 RF high ensured visibility throughout the Forum.³³ The senate's involvement in the building is remarkable. The original dedication, incised on the temple's architrave, briefly reads "To the deified Faustina, in accordance with a senatorial decree" (*CIL* 6.1005), corroborating a report in the *Historia Augusta* (*Pius* 6.7).³⁴ Coins depicting the temple with a colossal statue of Faustina centrally located in the cella, the altar on its stairs, and a (metal) gate analogously carry the legend SC (fig. 6.7).³⁵ Although some of the sculptural decoration shows affinities to that of the Hadrianeum, and the same imperial quarries must have provided material for both temples, the more Italic design of the Temple of Faustina contrasts with the strongly Greek appearance of the Hadrianeum. Similarly, the senate's involvement in Faustina's cult building contrasts with Pius' patronage of the Hadrianeum.³⁶

Faustina's temple may have foreseen inclusion of Antoninus Pius in its cult. Large-scale temples dedicated solely to a deified woman were unusual in Rome. The earliest known, Hadrian's Temple of the deified Matidia (after 119), had been part of a spacious zone connected with imperial cult and imperial family in the central Campus Martius (see fig. 6.1).³⁷ On Faustina's temple no archaeological evidence shows whether in 141 the frieze of griffins and candelabra on the flanks stopped above the front's architrave inscribed with the dedication to Faustina, thus leaving the frieze area smooth and unembellished, or whether an originally continuous frieze was chiseled off to make room for the dedication to Pius when he died and was deified twenty years later (*CIL* 6.1005, 31224 = *ILS* 348) (fig. 6.8).³⁸

³¹ Pensabene 1996: 241, 245–46, 264; *LTUR* 1: 46–47 (Cassatella); Bartoli 1914. Podium, 4.61 m; cella walls, now 15 m (left side) and 20 (right).

³² For the altar, originally brick veneered with marble, see *LTUR* 1: 47; Claridge 1998: 108; Pensabene 1996: 261, n. 83.

³³ *LTUR* 1: 47: columns 17 m (shafts of Carystian marble monoliths 40 RF high), diameter 1.45 m. The frieze features garlands and griffins.

³⁴ The temple is often ascribed to Antoninus Pius (e.g., Birley 1987: 118, L. Richardson 1992: 11), despite its dedication (compare the dedications, "for parents" from sons, of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and perhaps the Temple of the deified Trajan and Plotina, cited n. 89 below). Pensabene 1996: 241–45 argues for close collaboration of emperor and senate.

³⁵ *RIC* 3.162 no. 1115 = *BMC* 4.242 no. 1507, pl. 36.3: Schulten 1979: 36, 38.

³⁶ Pensabene 1996: 240–45, 253, 265, including discussion of the contrasting style.

³⁷ Boatwright 1987: 58–62; cf. Davies 2000a: 102–09. No information exists for the location and longevity of the shrine (*heroon*) raised to Poppaea, "the goddess Venus," after her death (Dio 63.26.4; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 16.21.2; *CIL* 11.1331).

³⁸ Pensabene 1996: 245. Claridge 1998: 107, and L. Richardson 1992: 11, suggest that the frieze originally extended across the front; *contra*, Bartoli 1914: 950. The dedication to Pius now on



Fig. 6.7 Sestertius with Temple of Faustina (AD 141–61).



Fig. 6.8 Façade of the Temple of the deified Faustina and Antoninus Pius in the Roman Forum.

Already in 144, long before Pius' death in 161, a statue dedicated to the emperor was placed near the temple (*CIL* 6.1002). The undying devotion of Faustina and Pius was exemplary, a model for the Roman people and Pius' own family. Ostia's decurions set up a plaque commemorating the pair's conjugal harmony, and they decreed that all marrying in their colony offer prayers on an altar (*CIL* 14.5326).³⁹ Analogously, and despite rumors of Faustina the Younger's involvement in Avidius Cassius' conspiracy against her husband in 175, after her death in 176 the Roman senate decreed that silver images of her and Marcus Aurelius be set up in the Temple of Venus and Roma, and an altar erected for sacrifices by all marrying in the city (*Dio* 72.31.1).⁴⁰ Coins and medallions for the empresses were extraordinarily numerous,⁴¹ and alimentary programs for *puellae Faustinae* upheld the maternal role of Faustina the Elder (and later that of Faustina the Younger).⁴²

the frieze uses larger letters than Faustina's earlier one. Although within fifteen years of Antoninus Pius' death the temple was known epigraphically as the *aedes* of the deified Pius (*CIL* 6.1540, cf. *CIL* 6.1599 and 2001, AD 213–16), in the *Historia Augusta* (*Gall.* 19.4) it is referred to as the *templum Faustinae*.

³⁹ The image of familial harmony was strongly promoted: e.g., Mattingly 1948: 149–50; cf. Noreña 2007 on the emergence of the ideal under Hadrian.

⁴⁰ See (e.g.) Boatwright 2003, esp. 252–53. Cecamore 1999: 334, n. 60 cautions against assuming that the altar was also in the Temple of Venus and Roma. For a possible Temple of the deified Faustina the Younger in Rome, see n. 71 below.

⁴¹ See *BMC* 4.xcvii–xcviii; Davies 2000a: 119; Meyers 2006.

⁴² E.g., Walentowski 1998: 79; *BMC* 4.48 no. 325, pl. 8.4.



Fig. 6.9 Sestertius of Antoninus Pius (158–59) showing Temple of the deified Augustus.

The Temple of Faustina in the Roman Forum, commissioned by the Roman senate, stated that that family was at the heart of Rome. It marks a decisive turn of Rome's attention inward (see also Pensabene 1996: 264–65).

Pius echoed this in his restoration of the Temple of the deified Augustus, known from coins struck in 158–59 (fig. 6.9). Emphasizing the first imperial couple, the reverses show seated statues of Augustus and Livia together in an octastyle temple.⁴³ The Temple of the deified Augustus is one of the great enigmas of Roman topography, and I take the temple restored by Pius to be the “*Templum Novum Divi Augusti*,” located on the southeast side of the Forum.⁴⁴ If this is so, Pius' restoration, which visually stressed Augustus' wife as well as the first emperor himself, may have balanced the temple

⁴³ E.g., *BMC* 4.140, nos. 938–43, pl. 20.5–7; *RIC* 3.149 no. 1004; Schulten 1979: 35; Hill 1989: 21. A seated statue of Livia had been placed in the *Templum Divi Augusti* during Claudius' rule: *Dio* 60.5.2 (cf. *Suet. Claud.* 11.2), *CIL* 6.4222.

⁴⁴ More specifically, between the *Vicus Tuscus*, the *Vicus Iugarius*, and the *Basilica Iulia*, *aedes Castorum*, and the Domitianic complex of *S. Maria Antiqua*: *LTUR* 1: 145–46 (Torelli); L. Richardson 1992: 45–46. Joint excavations conducted here in 2002–2005 by the American Institute for Roman Culture with Oxford and Stanford Universities promise to elucidate this area.

dedicated to his own wife across the Forum Romanum some twenty years earlier.⁴⁵

III. Restorations of bridges, other work along the Tiber, and the Arches of Lucius Verus and of Marcus Aurelius

The new, introspective emphasis in Antonine public building concurs with some self-defining urban changes in the city. Pius reconstructed three bridges along the Tiber, the Pons Agrippae, the Pons Cestius, and the Pons Sublicius (see fig. 6.1). The *Fasti Ostienses* date reconstruction of the Pons Agrippae and the Pons Cestius to 147 and 152, respectively,⁴⁶ but do not record Pius' restoration of the Pons Sublicius. This latter restoration, however, is one of the few public works of Pius noted in his biography (*HA, Pius* 8.2), and it also figures on a medallion (fig. 6.10). The medallion, and the one thought to depict the Pons Cestius, was struck during Pius' third consulship (140–44).⁴⁷ Although inundations may have directed Pius' attention to Rome's bridges – at least one notorious flood marred his rule⁴⁸ – Pius' medallion of the Pons Sublicius offers a less pragmatic interpretation of the work. The bridge shown is broken, with the enemy on the right, Romans on the left, and Horatius Cocles swimming underneath.⁴⁹ Here is an obvious evocation of early Rome, seen also on other coins, medallions, and in the location of the Temple of Faustina near the Regia and shrine of Vesta.⁵⁰ But on this medallion the bridge and the Tiber also serve as a frontier,

⁴⁵ W. Eck has noted to me that, despite the numismatic evidence, the dedication to Augustus alone was never altered. Pensabene 1996: 243–44 interprets the temple as serving the collective cult of divinized members of the imperial family.

⁴⁶ *Inscr. It.* 13.1.207, 673. Nothing else documents Antonine work on the Pons Agrippae, an enigmatic and controversial bridge (*LTUR* 4.107–08 [F. Coarelli]; L. Richardson 1992: 297; Taylor 2000: 146–65 and 2002; *CIL* 6.31545; Gatti 1887). Taylor 2002, at n. 62, suggests the Antonine renovations were due to changes in the riverbed; Lloyd 1979: 201–02, that the Pons Agrippae linked imperial brickyards on either side of the river.

⁴⁷ Pius' Pons Cestius medallion shows Aesculapius' snake landing at the Tiber island, which has a two-arched bridge (*BMC* 4.xcv; Lugli, *Fontes* VI.1, 141 no. 44, pl. III.2; Le Gall 1953: 81; Lugli and Le Gall identify the bridge as the Pons Aemilius). If the medallion refers to Pius' restoration of the Cestius it anticipates completion by at least three years.

⁴⁸ The *Fasti Ostienses* record a flood a few months after the dedication of the Pons Agrippae (*Inscr. It.* 13.1, 207: *AD* 147), perhaps the flood of *HA, Pius* 9.3.

⁴⁹ Lugli, *Fontes* V.5, 118 no. 160, pl. II.5; Gnechi II, *Ant. Pius* 9 no. 5, pl. 43.4. Coarelli (*LTUR* 4.112, with fig. 38) interprets this as documenting the restoration; Walentowski 1998: 224 is more tentative.

⁵⁰ Walentowski 1998: 75 (with bibliography); Toynbee 1944: 143, 193–94, associating the legendary types with preparations for Rome's 900th birthday.



Fig. 6.10 Reverse of medallion of Antoninus Pius depicting Horatius Cocles and the Pons Sublicius.

distinguishing what was Roman from what was not.⁵¹ Self-definition seems similarly promoted by Antoninus Pius' celebration of the 900th anniversary of Rome in 147 or 148,⁵² and by a regulation of the Tiber banks begun by Pius and finished by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus after Pius' death in 161.⁵³

In the latter part of the Antonine period, as Rome was assailed by plague and war, attention to Rome's edges intensified. The city's customs border was reaffirmed by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in 175 or shortly thereafter,⁵⁴ and arches for Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius were erected in Rome's south and center. The Arch of the deified Lucius Verus is attested only by the Regionary Catalogues, where it appears at the end of a list of three arches located in Region I (VZI: 91, 165, 208). Nothing is known of it

⁵¹ Its lateral depiction on Trajanic coins (Hill 1989: 105–06) is quite different.

⁵² Walentowski 1998: 259–64, and Buonocore 1982 credibly argue that this dates to 148, not 147.

⁵³ *LTUR* 4: 70–1 (Maischberger): attested by cippi from via Giulia, Pons Cestius, Monte Testaccio, and Ponte Africa: *CIL* 6.31553 = *ILS* 5932; *CIL* 6.31554a, 31554b = *ILS* 5933, and *NSc* 1948, pp. 139–40; *AE* 1951, 182b and 182c = *CIL* 6.31554a; also *AE* 1961, 138, *AE* 1985, 45.

⁵⁴ Palmer 1980: 217–18, 231, citing *CIL* 6.1016a, b, c, 31227 and *ILS* 375, *inter alia*; cf. Purcell 2000: 439.

other than its general location and name,⁵⁵ but its unanimous transmission as the “Arch of Divus Verus” (twice with the added “Parthicus”) indicates it followed Verus’ death and deification in 169.⁵⁶ Verus’ spectacular celebration over the Parthians in 166/167 (e.g., *HA, Marc.* 12.7–12) was Rome’s first triumph in some fifty years. The Roman arch of Divus Verus Parthicus was undoubtedly triumphal, replete with images of the vanquished enemy. Since the Regionary Catalogues list together the Arch of the deified Verus, Arch of Trajan, and Arch of Drusus, the three seem to have been erected along the via Appia.⁵⁷ Verus’ arch presumably spanned the road Roman troops had marched on, on their way both to and from the Parthian War, advertising Roman superiority to the outside world even while conceptually separating non-Roman from Roman.⁵⁸ As the plague Verus’ victorious troops brought back to Rome in 166 must have made obvious, however, such boundaries were not impermeable.⁵⁹

An attempt to define what was “Roman” may also be true for the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, regardless of the vexed problems of its topography, configuration, and date. I start with the more secure evidence. A triumphal monument to Marcus Aurelius is witnessed by an inscription copied *in Capitolino* by the late eighth-century Einsiedeln pilgrim (*CIL* 6.1014): “The Senate and the people of Rome, to Marcus Aurelius . . . with tribunician power for the thirtieth time . . . , because he surpassed all the glory of all the greatest emperors before him, having destroyed or vanquished most belligerent peoples.” Marcus’ tribunician power provides a date of 176 (problematically, as we see below). The inscription is usually associated with twelve reliefs, similar in size, material, and general style, now found on the Arch of Constantine (eight reliefs, with heads recut to resemble Constantine and Licinius), in the Capitoline Museum (3), and in Copenhagen (a fragment with Marcus Aurelius’ head).⁶⁰ Although stylistically the Capitoline panels differ slightly from those reused on the Arch of Constantine,

⁵⁵ On grounds of style and size De Maria 1988: 302, has rejected various reliefs attributed to this arch, such as the *ferculum* relief of the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 8640).

⁵⁶ Parthicus in *Notitia* and redaction of Pomponius Laetus: *VZ* I: 91, 165, 208.

⁵⁷ *LTUR* 1: 112 (Palombi); De Maria 1988: 302–03 no. 87. But since the grouping may be by either type or topography we cannot assume a particular position on the via Appia.

⁵⁸ Cf. De Maria 1988: 51, and the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.

⁵⁹ Although I do not argue that the Antonine plague of 166/167 (or sequels in 189) was a “turning point,” it was devastating for Rome: Duncan-Jones 1996; Purcell 2000: 435.

⁶⁰ *LTUR* 1: 98–99 (Torelli); Angelicoussis 1984. For the reliefs now in the Capitoline, see also Cafiero in La Rocca 1986: 38–52 (including the *Adventus Augusti* relief discussed above, once considered part of this group).



Fig. 6.11 *Deditio* relief (also called Conquest relief). Now in Musei Capitolini.

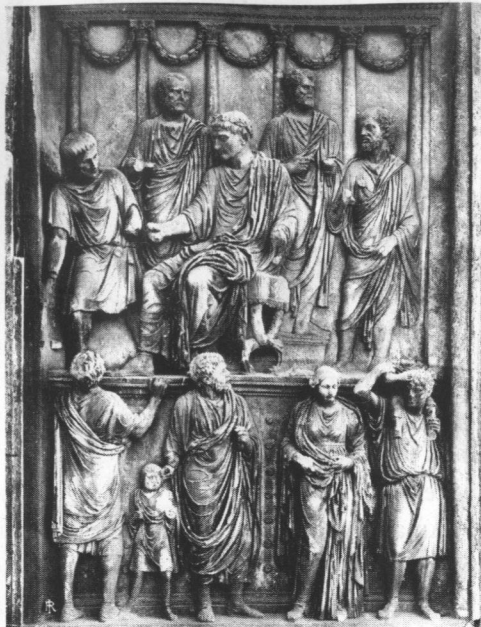


Fig. 6.12 *Liberalitas* relief, now on Arch of Constantine.

the twelve “compose a logical narrative sequence of a triumph of a war” (Angelicoussis 1984: 158).

Half of the extant panels show the emperor in military dress and settings,⁶¹ as when Marcus, in military costume on horseback in the battlefield, receives the submission of two barbarians (fig. 6.11), or when he stands on a podium in a *paludamentum*, granting clemency to barbarians dragged before him on the battlefield. Other panels depict civil rituals and ceremonies connected with the war, such as that showing an imperial benefaction to the Roman populace (fig. 6.12). This distribution must be the one of 177 celebrating Marcus’ triumph simultaneously with Commodus’ first consulship and first tribunician power (Angelicoussis 1984: 157, 180–81). Double the customary HS 100 (Angelicoussis 1984: 154–59), the plentiful distribution of 177 demonstrated Commodus’ official recognition as his father’s successor. It also declared an end to wartime scarcity, which had earlier forced Marcus to auction off imperial jewels and other precious property (HA,

⁶¹ Although the titles for these panels differ, I follow those used by Torelli in *LTUR* 1: 98–99: military scenes, with the emperor in tunic, *paludamentum*, and sometimes cuirass, include *adlocutio*, *captivi*, *clementia*, *rex datus* (all on the Constantinian Arch), and *deditio* (Capitoline) and *adlocutio* (Copenhagen fragment); civil ones, with the emperor togate, include *profectio*, *lustratio*, *adventus*, *liberalitas* (on Arch of Constantine), and *triumphus* and *sacrificium* (in the Capitoline).

Marc. 17.4–5).⁶² The extant panels thus portray events from 169, when the Marcomannic War began, to after its concluding imperial triumph in December 176.⁶³

Most scholars concur that all twelve panels decorated one arch,⁶⁴ raised by the Senate and People of Rome and perhaps arranged with a military side and civil one.⁶⁵ Less agreement attends the location of that arch. Many identify the arch with the “Arcus Panis Aurei,” a monument the Regionary Catalogues locate near the Capitoline or on the hill’s northern slopes (see fig. 6.1),⁶⁶ on the assumption that this arch also supplied the triumphal inscription found in *Capitolio* discussed earlier. The Arcus Panis Aurei would then be Marcus’ triumphal arch, whose name somehow became garbled during the later empire.⁶⁷ I find this implausible, not least because the north slope of the Capitoline is far from the triumphal route and lacks significant monumental building.⁶⁸ Another proposed location for the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius is near the Column of Marcus Aurelius on the Via Flaminia.⁶⁹ But this, too, is unsatisfactory: this is even farther from the triumphal route and from the Arch of Constantine, where most of its panels were reused as *spolia*.⁷⁰ Torelli has suggested that the Arch of

⁶² Although Cassius Dio records an increasingly strained economy (e.g., 72.3.3, 72.32–33.2; 73.16).

⁶³ This sequence would mean that the number of Marcus’ tribunician power was incorrectly copied by the Einsiedeln pilgrim; see Angelicoussis 1984: 195–96. Accepting the Einsiedeln reading, Caferio (in La Rocca 1986: 45) locates the reliefs on arches in the central Campus Martius (see below).

⁶⁴ Torelli in *LTUR* 1: 98 and Angelicoussis 1984: 159–74 survey the basic dispute as to whether they were sculpted at one time, completed at different times for one arch, or came from two distinct arches. Torelli argues for one arch with decoration made in two distinct phases; Angelicoussis (161–74), that two different workshops worked simultaneously for one arch. On the principle of mirror symmetry for arches, and from Commodus’ erasure in the *triumphus* and *liberalitas* scenes, she suggests that these twelve panels were originally complemented by another twelve featuring Commodus and destroyed in *damnatio memoriae* (see also De Maria 1988: 303–05, no. 88). A close stylistic analysis leads Ryberg 1967: 77 to conclude two different monuments for the panels (of which she knows only eleven, but not the head in Copenhagen).

⁶⁵ *LTUR* 1: 98–9 (Torelli). Collaboration of emperor and senate, stressed until Commodus’ rule, seems reflected in the reliefs’ inclusion of Claudius Pompeianus, one of Marcus’ advisors and his son-in-law after 169.

⁶⁶ “In Capitolio” or “in Capitello,” it apparently was where the Clivus Argentarius met the Via Flaminia (VZ III: 19 and n. 8, 81, 132, 185); *LTUR* 1: 98.

⁶⁷ Mingazzini 1963 and 1965; Davies 2000a: 48.

⁶⁸ See *LTUR* 1: 99; Angelicoussis 1984: 173, n. 116.

⁶⁹ As Angelicoussis 1984: 198–204, for a large quadrifrons; others, for a bi-frontal arch here, include Becatti 1960: 68–69; Ryberg 1967: 89; see n. 64 above.

⁷⁰ I assume that *spolia* in Rome were commonly reused near their original location. From the Campus Martius to the Arch of Constantine the Aurelian panels would have been carried along the Via Flaminia, Clivus Argentarius, Forum, and the Velia.

Marcus Aurelius rose originally near the later Arch of Constantine.⁷¹ This would put Marcus' Arch along the triumphal route with its age-old resonance of bellicosity and *imperium*. The Arch would then be consonant with the symbolic gesture Marcus Aurelius performed in 178: before embarking on his second Transdanubian campaign, he threw the bloody spear kept in the Temple of Bellona into ground symbolically regarded as enemy territory (Dio 72.33.3).⁷² Militarism and subjugation of the Other were also embodied in Rome in the famous equestrian statue of Marcus, which seems to have originally included a cowering barbarian under the horse's raised hoof.⁷³

IV. Consecration altars and the Columns of Antoninus Pius and of Marcus Aurelius

Such monuments, rituals, and images differentiated late Antonine Rome from the earlier imperial city. Yet the conceptual separation of Rome from what was not Rome was less sharp in the Antonine Campus Martius. Here the imprint of the Antonines can be traced on a wide area, because they had almost virgin ground on which to work (see fig. 6.1). Hadrian had raised the ground level in the northern Campus Martius by some 2–3 meters, perhaps to render the region less susceptible to flooding. The elevation is attested at the original sites of the Horologium of Augustus and the Ara Pacis, and under S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and it may have extended farther south.⁷⁴ The fill evidently obliterated most earlier structures, except those

⁷¹ Torelli in *LTUR* 1: 99, basing his suggestion on the then-recent discovery that the Arch of Constantine incorporated a previous arch. Although the earlier arch is now identified as Hadrianic (Conforto 2001), the symbolism of this spot, near the *pomerium* of Romulus, *curiae Veteres* and Meta Sudans, is attractive. Further, if Cecamore 1999 is correct in identifying as the Temple of the deified Faustina (the Younger) the temple later restored and rededicated as the Temple of Elagabalus (in the Vigna Barberini, on the northeast corner of the Palatine; see n. 95 below), Torelli's location for the Arch of Marcus Aurelius would have the two structures in general proximity (although the Arch would be below and behind the Temple).

⁷² Birley 1987: 206–07 argues that Marcus, a *fetialis*, was not reviving the ceremony. But Dio's remark, "as I have heard from people who were there," indicates the extraordinary nature of the act.

⁷³ As Kleiner 1992: 271, and Hannestad 1988: 219–23, suggesting a date of 166–167.

⁷⁴ Hadrianic rise of 2.95 m at the Horologium (at the modern via della Torretta); c. 1.85 m around Ara Pacis and to Via Flaminia; corresponding rise under S. Lorenzo in Lucina: Rakob 1987; Boatwright 1987: 71; Bertoldi et al. 1992: 128. From earlier findings at the Via Flaminia at the via del Collegio Romano (indicating a Hadrianic level 1.10 m higher than its Claudian level), Castagnoli 1942: 72 proposes that the Flaminia here was also raised under Hadrian (though he admits the difficulties this would entail for the Aqua Virgo; see also *LTUR* 1: 73 [Le Pera]). Rakob 1987: fig. 7 calculates the Hadrianic level of the Via Flaminia at the Ara Pacis at 12.75 m a.s.l.; from Martines 2000: fig. 1 and p. 20, we can calculate at 14.47 m a.s.l. the level of the *platea* of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. In general Rome sloped upwards to the south.

purposefully isolated in holes as was the Ara Pacis (see Coarelli 1997: 601). It facilitated new construction whose layout suggests a systematic division of the region into areas 100 Roman feet square.⁷⁵ Best known from this region are the altars and columns of the Antonines that, linked by orientation and function, have led many to speak of this as a dynastic showcase dedicated to the *gens Antonina*.⁷⁶ Less acknowledged is that the Hadrianic elevation allowed the construction of residential and commercial insulae in this area, one of which seems to have encroached on the northeastern *platea* of the Horologium. Such utilitarian building of the late Hadrianic and Antonine period would have obscured the earlier Augustan monuments and eradicated their celebrated sylvan surroundings.⁷⁷ Here the juxtaposition of monumental and functional confounded the imperial identity of Rome for those entering from the north. There was no obvious separation of secure city from hostile barbarism, a probable effect of the Arch of Verus in Rome's southern region.

On land presumably affected by Hadrian's ground elevation rose three squared consecration altars and the two better-known Antonine columns (fig. 6.13). Little remains today of the three altars, which were similar in materials, size, general design, and orientation.⁷⁸ The earliest unearthed, found in 1703 under the via degli Uffici del Vicario, was a marble altar surrounded by two precinct walls; its outermost wall, about 100 RF², was formed by travertine cippi connected by a metal screen. Both northern precinct walls had openings towards the Column of Antoninus Pius (discussed below).⁷⁹ Two other consecration altars were discovered at the

L. Richardson, jr. has suggested to me that the elevation has something to do with Hadrian's retracing of the *pomerium*.

⁷⁵ Jolivet 1988 suggests that the urban layout occurred under Hadrian.

⁷⁶ E.g., *LTUR* 1: 298 (Maffei); La Rocca 1984: 107, 113; Davies 2000a: 166–70. I use the term “consecration altars” or altars rather than “ustrina” to designate the squared structures here. The dynastic stress of the area is implicitly challenged by Cecamore 1999, who locates a Temple of the deified Faustina the Younger on the Palatine. Reexamining fragments 69–70 (a and b) and 103 of the Forma Urbis Marmorea, and comparing the structures they depict with recent French excavations in the Vigna Barberini, Cecamore convincingly places the fragments in plaque 17 of FUM (corresponding to the northeast corner of the Palatine). She reads the inscription on 69–70 (a and b) as [*fa*]*ust[i]nae*, and then argues that the Temple later dedicated to Elagabalus here was originally dedicated by the senate to Faustina the Younger and built by Marcus Aurelius (*HA, Marc.* 26.4–9). Her article came to my attention too late for full incorporation into this essay, and I am not fully convinced by her discussion of the literary evidence and religious aspects (Cecamore 1999: 331–47).

⁷⁷ Rakob 1987; also *LTUR* 5: 137 (Patterson).

⁷⁸ *LTUR* 1: 75 (Danti); Jolivet 1988; La Rocca 1984: 101–14; L. Richardson 1992: 149.

⁷⁹ The outermost structure measured 30 m² = c. 100 RF². See *LTUR* 1: 75; Kampmann 1985: 71–72; La Rocca 1984: 107–14. The travertine cippi were set on a tufa-block curb at regular intervals; the marble interior precinct wall, on a travertine foundation, was about 23 m².

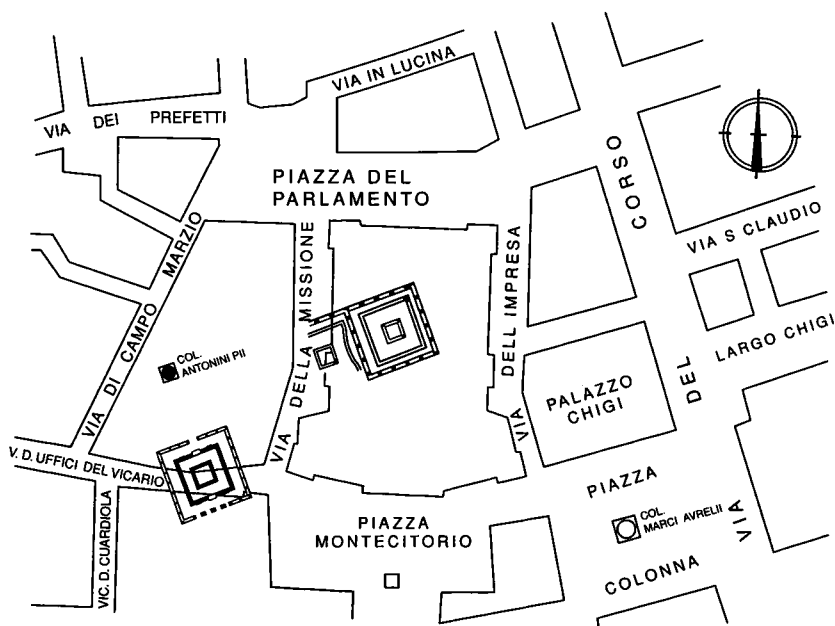


Fig. 6.13 Plan of area around Piazza Montecitoria.

Palazzo Montecitorio in 1907–10.⁸⁰ The eastern one, with a central altar and two precinct walls, is more complete.⁸¹ Its outermost precinct wall, about 100 RF² and formed by pilasters and an iron grate or screen, was shared by the adjacent consecration altar. Although this last structure is less well attested, it had a distinctive, curved eastern wall of marble for its intermediate precinct.⁸²

The three squared structures are associated with the Antonines both because they follow the same orientation as the two nearby Antonine columns, and because they resemble edifices appearing on Antonine coins

⁸⁰ I label the eastern, more complete one “B” and the western one “A,” in accordance with Buzzetti 1984.

⁸¹ Buzzetti 1984: 27; *LTUR* 1: 75; La Rocca 1984: 111: precinct walls c. 29.65 m² and 24.45 m²; travertine foundation with *cocciopesto* flooring between precinct walls, and travertine paving between inner precinct and central 10.5 m² marble altar. Interior precinct with windowed niches and door on each side, and corner acroteria. Travertine foundation of “B” visible in the substructures of the Camera dei Deputati: Kampmann 1985: 72–74.

⁸² Buzzetti 1984; La Rocca 1984: 113; *LTUR* 1: 75 (Danti), referring to a curved cornice now in Museo Nazionale Romano (Aula VIII). The curved eastern side of this altar’s middle precinct may indicate that it commemorates Faustina the Elder, whose pyre on coins uniquely features a curved section (Frazer 1979). “A” apparently predates “B.”

commemorating imperial consecrations.⁸³ There is an obvious relationship between the first altar discussed and the Column of Antoninus Pius, to which it opens. But neither of the two other altars has such a clear link with the Column of Marcus Aurelius. It is probably best not to identify their dedicants precisely.⁸⁴ Whatever the exact relationship between these Antonine monuments, the altars themselves present remarkably open designs. In contrast to the Hadrianeum and other porticoed structures farther south and west, only simple fences, not deep and impeding quadriporticoes, separated the altars from their surroundings.⁸⁵ Open and accessible, they suit the nearby Columns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Dismembered in the eighteenth century,⁸⁶ the Column of Antoninus Pius is known from coins struck under Marcus Aurelius in 161 (fig. 6.14),⁸⁷ drawings, descriptions, and its extant parts, particularly the pedestal now in the Vatican.⁸⁸ According to the short dedicatory inscription on the original north side of the pedestal, it was erected to the deified Antoninus Pius by his sons Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.⁸⁹ It consisted of a red granite monolith (50 RF)⁹⁰ on a large, decorated square marble pedestal. The

⁸³ Consecration issues for Faustina the Elder, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius: see Schulten 1979: 100–1 no. 251; *RIC* 3.315 nos. 1266–8; *BMC* 4.393–4 nos. 55–64, pl. 54.12–14; 4.525–6 nos. 872–9, pl. 71.8; 4.528 no. 892, pl. 72.10; Hill 1989: 102.

⁸⁴ Architectonic fragments associated with these structures do not help precise dating or attribution; see *LTUR* 1: 75 (Danti); La Rocca 1984: 112–14; *LTUR* 1: 303 (Maffei). Attributions by Davies (2000a: 168–69) are speculative. The entire area was probably still outside Rome's *pomerium*: L. Richardson 1992: 295–96; *LTUR* 1: 298 (Maffei).

⁸⁵ Cf. Temple of Faustina.

⁸⁶ For the Column, whose findspot was 39 m west of via della Missione (which delimitates the western flank of Palazzo Montecitorio), see *LTUR* 1: 299; Vogel 1973: 5; Kleiner 1992: 285–88; *CAR* II, II–G.181 no. 152; L. Richardson 1992: 94. In 1703 Clement XI ordered the excavation of column and base, which were then dragged to the piazza di Montecitorio (1705) and damaged by fire in 1759.

⁸⁷ *RIC* 3.247 nos. 439–40; 3.315 nos. 1269–71.

⁸⁸ In 1789–90 the granite shaft was reused to restore other monuments, and the pedestal (restored in 1706–08) was moved to the Vatican, to undergo more restorations in 1841–46. It is of Carrara marble 2.47 × 3.38 × 3.38 m with two travertine steps, exhibited in a courtyard near the entrance to the Vatican museums.

⁸⁹ *CIL* 6.1004 (cf. p. 804) = 31223 = *ILS* 347: *Divo Antonino Aug. Pio / Antoninus Augustus et / Verus Augustus filii*. Davies 2000a: 118–19 links this to Faustina the Elder's fictive position as mother of the co-emperors. This is less persuasive when compared to *CIL* 6.984 = *ILS* 322, Pius' dedication on the Mausoleum of Hadrian *parentibus suis*. See also *CIL* 6.966 + 31215 = *ILS* 306, Hadrian's dedication on the Temple of Trajan and Plotina, *parentibus suis*, if that inscription is indeed to be associated with the Temple (see Claridge 2007: 92–93, who further doubts that the Temple's dedication included Plotina at all).

⁹⁰ Half as high as the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Arguing from *IGRRP* 1.529 (*IG* 14.2421.1), found on the lower part of the column, Ward-Perkins 1976 holds that the column (originally 14.75 m, 1.90 m diameter at base) was first destined for the temple of the Forum of Trajan. See also *CAR* II, II–G.181 no. 152.



Fig. 6.14 Sestertius of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus showing the Column of Antoninus Pius.

pedestal's south side featured an apotheosis relief, and on its east and west were equestrian *decursio* reliefs (all described below). A fence surrounded the whole, and atop the column was a statue.⁹¹

The Column's dedicatory inscription looked north, but not directly, toward the Mausoleum of Augustus (see fig. 6.1). The northern orientation, odd in our lack of knowledge about roads and access through this area, betrays a less focused sense of urban design than in the central Campus Martius. The southern side of the Column's pedestal faced the first altar described above, only some 25 meters away; it may have been most noticeable. Its deep relief portrays Faustina the Elder and Antoninus Pius as they are carried by a winged genius above personifications of the Campus Martius and of Rome (fig. 6.15).⁹² It conflates the consecration of Pius with the earlier one of his wife, much as did the double dedication on the Temple of Faustina in the Forum (Kleiner 1992: 287). The pedestal's east and west sides have been said to represent two distinct *decursiones*, the one

⁹¹ Known from coins, e.g., *BMC* 4.394–5 nos. 67–70, pl. 54.17 and 4.528 no. 893, pl. 72.11; *LTUR* 1: 299 (Maffei); Vogel 1973: 6–7; and *CAR* II, II-G.181 no. 152. See fig. 6.14.

⁹² Maffei in *LTUR* 1: 300 summarizes the controversy over the winged figure (probably Aion)

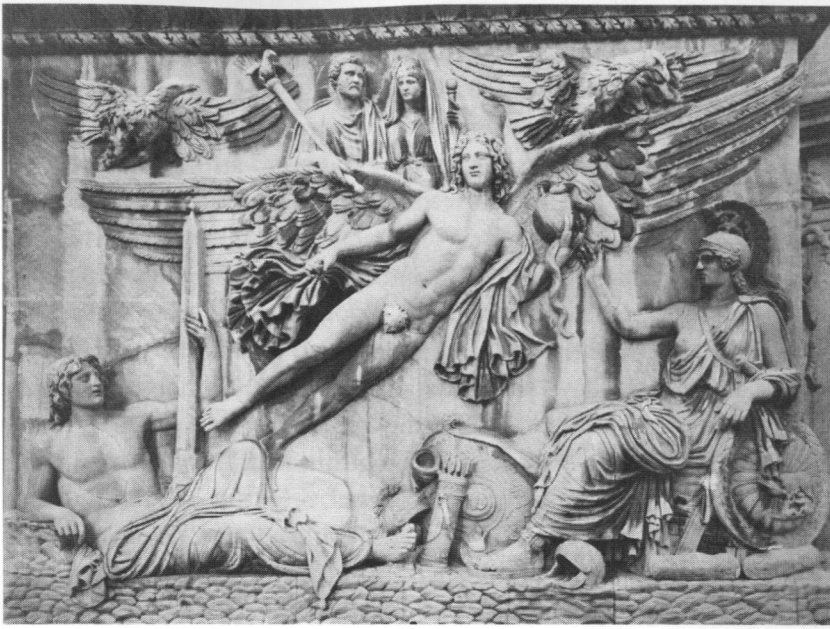


Fig. 6.15 Relief of the Apotheosis of Faustina and Pius, from the southern face of the pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius.

for Faustina the Elder in 141, and that for Pius in 161, in a similar denial of time.⁹³ The Column of Antoninus Pius reasserts the importance of family to Rome. Its distinct topographical signifiers – the personifications of Campus Martius and of Rome that are larger than emperor and empress – also reflect Rome’s inward turn.⁹⁴

The final, extraordinary monument of the Antonines is the Column of Marcus Aurelius.⁹⁵ The Column now lacks its original dedication, obscuring its purpose, sponsor, and date. Its earliest witness is the inscription of its procurator Adrastus (*CIL* 6.1585a, b = *ILS* 5920),⁹⁶ which provides a *terminus ante quem* of August–September 193. The inscription initially identifies the monument as “the [hundred-foot] column of the [deified] Marcus and

⁹³ *LTUR* 1: 299; Kleiner 1992: 287. But the inscription says nothing about Faustina. For the *decursio* reliefs, see, e.g., Vogel 1973: 57–60; for the ceremonies, see E. D’Ambra in this volume.

⁹⁴ Compare the provincial reliefs of the Hadrianeum.

⁹⁵ See Scheid and Huet 2000; Pirson 1996; (concisely) *LTUR* 1: 302–05 (Maffei), L. Richardson 1992: 95–96. I omit discussion of the supposed Temple of the deified Faustina the Younger on the northeast Palatine (see n. 71 above), since too little of this monument is certain.

⁹⁶ Huet 2000: 128; Daguet-Gagey 1998: 894–97; Caprino et al. 1955: 39 (fig. 8: *CIL* 6.1585b); Gordon 1958–65: II.164–70 no. 255, pl. 120. To my knowledge, only this Column, the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Theater of Pompey, and the Forum of Trajan had specialized procurators: Robinson 1992: 54–56; Eck 1999a.

Faustina,⁹⁷ echoing Rome's widespread emphasis on the imperial family.⁹⁸ But Faustina the Younger never appears on inscription or column, presumable depictions of Commodus are controversial,⁹⁹ and the decorative program is devoted to the Marcomannic Wars that broke out in 166–67. By the fourth century, authors cite “columns” among various honors the Senate and the People of Rome decreed the philosopher-emperor at his death (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 16.15; ps. Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 16.14).¹⁰⁰ As for so many other monuments of Antonine Rome, intention and agency are now debatable.

Thus understanding the Column's topography and visual messages is even more important. The Column rises only 30 meters away from the Via Flaminia and follows its orientation, as do other Antonine monuments in the Campus Martius north of the Via Recta (see fig. 6.1).¹⁰¹ About halfway between the Mausoleum of Augustus and Trajan's Column,¹⁰² it was and remains commanding: its pedestal, originally about 10.5 meters, raised it above most other monuments in the city.¹⁰³ The Column displayed towards the Via Flaminia¹⁰⁴ the highly decorated eastern front of its pedestal, lamentably destroyed in late sixteenth-century “restorations” (but

⁹⁷ Leading Huet 2000: 111, to implausibly presume two statues, Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, atop the Column. In the inscription four different phrases are used, *Colu[mna centenaria divorum] Marci et Faustinae*, *columna divi Marci* (“Column of the deified Marcus”); *columna centenaria* (“the hundred-foot column”); *columna centenaria divi Marci* (“the hundred-foot column of the deified Marcus”): *CIL* 6.1585a, lines 5–6; *CIL* 6.1585b = *ILS* 5920, lines 19; 31–32; 42–43. The first, in the opening letter of Adrastus himself, may be the official name.

⁹⁸ Some hold that the Column was raised by Commodus (see Davies 2000a: 168–69), just as the Column of Antoninus Pius was raised by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

⁹⁹ Morris 1952 argued for Commodus' appearance, and is followed by (e.g.) Birley 1987: 267; for doubts, see, e.g., *LTUR* 1: 304 (Maffei); Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 67.

¹⁰⁰ Leading (e.g.) Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 67–69 to attribute the Column to the Senate and People of Rome as a triumphal monument raised during Marcus' lifetime. But both passages, like *HA*, *Marc.* 18.8, speak of “columns” and other honors after Marcus Aurelius' deification. The *Reginary Catalogues* (VZ, I: 125, 176, cf. 309) stress the column's height and spiral form even to the omission of Marcus' *praenomen*, mistakenly suggesting that the monument was erected to honor Antoninus Pius: *LTUR* 1: 303.

¹⁰¹ Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 61–62; Huet 2000: 108–09. Huet's analysis of the topography (107–11) uncritically accepts Caprino et al. 1955: 15–28; Jolivet 1988: 93 is speculative.

¹⁰² Its expansive *platea* may have provided views to these memorials, distant c. 650 m in either direction, especially if we accept the new location proposed by Claridge 2007 for the Temple of Trajan (see n. 110 below).

¹⁰³ Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 55, 59–60; Martines 2000; *LTUR* 1: 304.

¹⁰⁴ Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 62 stresses that we do not know how the *platea* met the Via (where Becatti 1960: 68–69, Angelicoussis 1984 and others presume an arch or arches of Marcus Aurelius; see n. 69 above). I am unable to discover the reasoning behind Gatti's implausible assertion (in Caprino et al. 1955: 27–28), repeated by others (e.g., *LTUR* 1: 303), that the *platea* was 3 m higher than the Via Flaminia.

documented in part by antiquarian sketches) (fig. 6.16).¹⁰⁵ Here the original entrance door was probably flanked by reliefs of heaped armor.¹⁰⁶ A horizontal frieze above the door depicted barbarians on a battlefield submitting to Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰⁷ Above this must have come the dedicatory inscription, perhaps flanked by winged Victories.¹⁰⁸ The “front” of the pedestal thus highlighted the successful completion of the Marcomannic Wars, the subject of the column’s spiral frieze.

The Column seems to have stood in an open *platea*, which would have increased the visibility of its reliefs (fig. 6.17). We know of no large structures between the Column and the Via Recta, about 40 meters south.¹⁰⁹ Analogy with Trajan’s Column and Temple, and vague, late literary evidence, have encouraged many to presume a Temple to the deified Marcus Aurelius west of the Column.¹¹⁰ But this is improbable. In 1777 the house of Adrastus, the Column’s procurator, was discovered about 60 meters west of the Column.¹¹¹ As recorded on the inscription once displayed on his house’s façade, Adrastus had asked to build his house behind the Column (*pos<t> colu[m]nam*) precisely so that he could better perform his job, if the accepted restoration of the text is correct (*[ut rectius fungar officio meo]*: CIL 6.1585a, lines 3–4). A temple west of the Column would have blocked Adrastus’ physical and visual access to the monument. Adrastus’ house, made of wood and tile, further indicates that the Column was not in grand surroundings. Rather, the house must have suited the prosaic apartment building across the Via Flaminia (now under the Galleria Colonna and adjacent structures).¹¹² The Column’s setting mingled the monumental and the functional, as did the area to the north of it after the Hadrianic ground elevation there.

¹⁰⁵ Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 55; Scheid and Huet 2000: figs. 137–45.

¹⁰⁶ Polito 1998: 198; trophy reliefs are presumed only on analogy with Trajan’s Column.

¹⁰⁷ Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 62 and pl. 8.1; Commodus may have been depicted. On the other three sides of the pedestal were garlands supported by winged Victories.

¹⁰⁸ Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 55, 65, n. 40, 66, and her fig. 8.

¹⁰⁹ How the Via Recta met the Via Flaminia is unclear.

¹¹⁰ E.g., *LTUR* 3: 212 (De Caprariis); Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 62, n. 21; *LTUR* 1: 303. Bits of marble found in Piazza Montecitorio in 1960 have been ascribed to the temple (CAR II, II-G.192 no. 201; Cozza 1982: 32–38; *LTUR* 1: 303). But the findspot is 10–20 m farther west than the house of Adrastus (see below; sketch in Daguet-Gagey 1998: 903, is wrong). References to a temple or temples to Marcus are imprecise. Even if Claridge 2007 is correct in relocating the Temple of Trajan slightly farther east than it is usually considered to have been sited, she maintains its proximity to the Column of Trajan.

¹¹¹ Near the southeast corner of Piazza Montecitorio: CAR II, II-G.195 no. 207 (my fig. 6.17); Caprino et al. 1955: 31; Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 60, 67.

¹¹² Boatwright 1987: 65–66 and ill. 10.

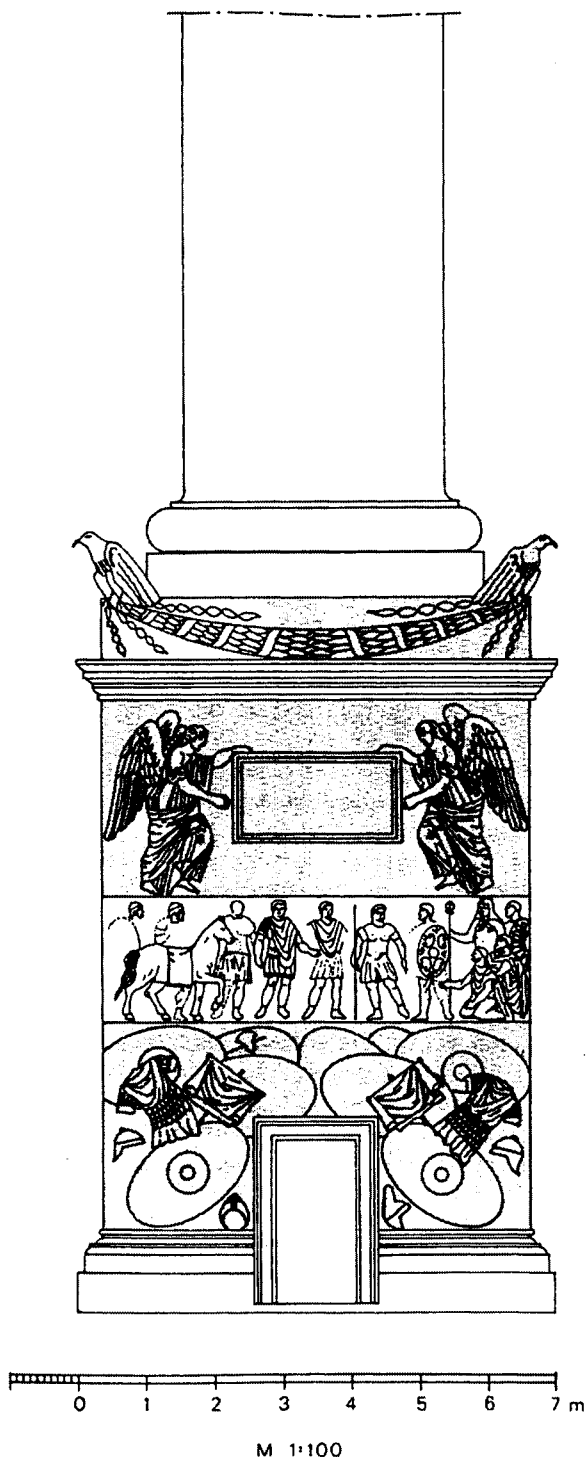
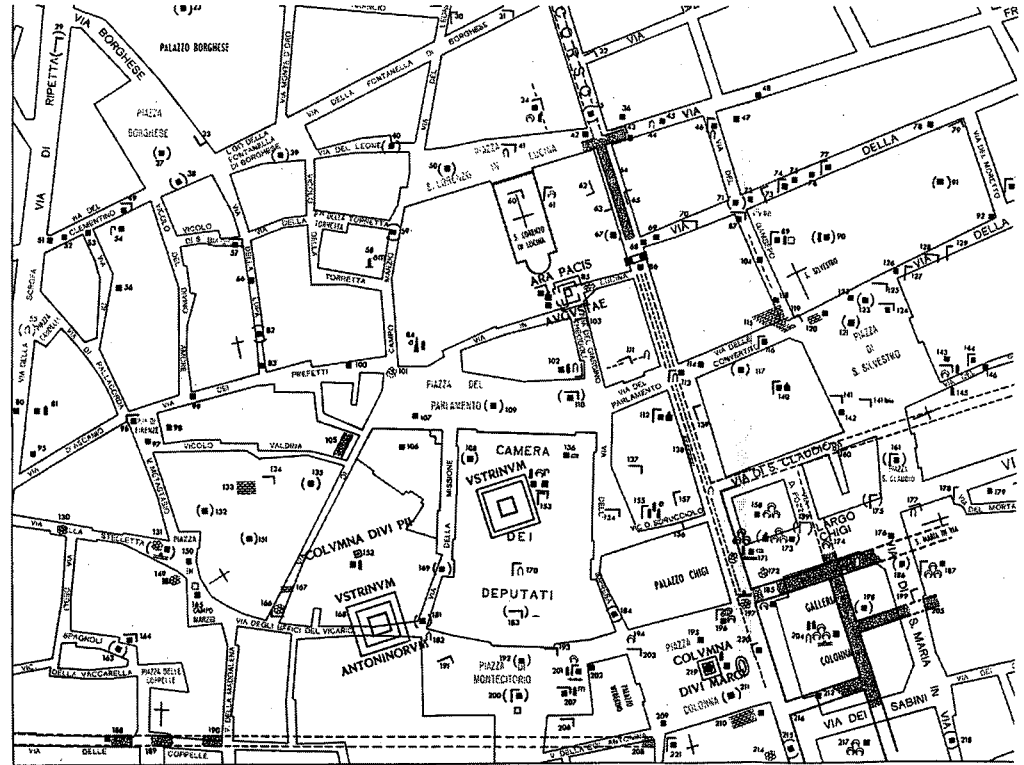


Fig. 6.16 Reconstruction of the eastern face of the pedestal of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, based on antiquarian sketches

Fig. 6.17 The area around the Column of Marcus Aurelius, as depicted on the *Carta Archeologica di Roma* (Tavola II.G) that located all ancient material known at the time (1964) by superimposing their findspots on a plan of modern Rome. The Column of Marcus Aurelius is the Columna divi Marci, 219. The house of Adrastus was found at 207, near the lower center of the plan and west of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The ancient street (marked by paving stones at 188, 189, 190, 208) south of Adrastus' house is the Via Recta, and part of the paving of the Via Flaminia east of the Column of Marcus Aurelius has been documented. The plan includes other monuments and structures mentioned in the text: the Column of Antoninus Pius (Columna Divi Pii, 152); two of the consecration altars (here called Ustrinum [Antoninorum], 168, 153; we now know that the more northern one was doubled, as it is depicted on fig. 6); the Ara Pacis (85) and S. Lorenzo in Lucina (60) northwest of that; part of the area of the Horologium of Augustus (58, 59); and the modern Galleria Colonna over a second-century (AD) apartment block, 204, across the Via Flaminia from the Column of Marcus Aurelius.



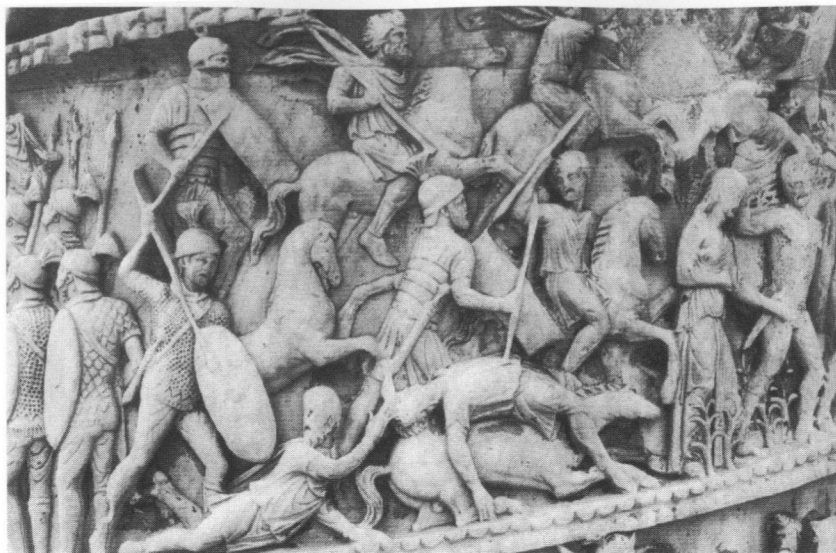


Fig. 6.18 Scenes 96 (7–14)–97 (1–4) from the frieze of the Column of Marcus Aurelius: military and civilian casualties.

The column's spiral reliefs bluntly depict the brutality of war while consistently exalting Marcus Aurelius and the Romans over the barbarian Other (fig. 6.18).¹¹³ The column functioned visually as a triumphal monument, whether or not it originally commemorated Marcus' deification and the imperial family.¹¹⁴ Its location suggests an additional role. In splendid isolation next to the Via Flaminia, the Aurelian Column may have signaled to visitors and inhabitants alike Rome's revival of traditional belligerency, as I have suggested the Arch of the deified Verus did on the Via Appia.

V. Conclusions

Although the picture is not simple, some conclusions emerge. After the earliest monuments of Pius' rule, new building and changes in Antonine Rome belied the expansive self-confidence embodied in Hadrian's urban

¹¹³ I do not discuss the reliefs' historical veracity and style. See Scheid and Huet 2000; Hannestad 1988: 236–44; Ferris 2003: 58, comparing less brutal depictions of war in Trajanic and earlier Roman art. Pirson 1996: 168–77 contends that the explicit message, made clearer by the style, was “unambiguous Roman superiority” made “in insecure times” (170, 174).

¹¹⁴ E.g., Jordan-Ruwe 1990: esp. 67–68; *LTUR* 1: 298 (Maffei), 302 (Maffei). A twofold purpose of triumphal celebration and celebration of divinity would liken it even more to the Column of Trajan, its visual model (cf. Martines 2000; Jordan-Ruwe 1990: 53).

work, which had stressed nonviolent incorporation of others in Rome's empire. The Temple of the deified Faustina seems to mark the change. Previous emperors had commemorated family members by monumental buildings, but the Temple of Faustina, raised by the senate and located in the Roman Forum, marked Antonine Rome as more self-referential and self-defining, emphatically focused on family and homeland. This mentality emerges ever more clearly in subsequent Antonine buildings and changes of Rome's public space.

Stress on the imperial family is understandable in light of the importance of imperial succession; also comprehensible is the search for "national" symbols in a polity as diverse and widespread as second-century Rome. Yet Rome's space, representations, and rituals changed even more radically when unforeseen setbacks beginning in the later 160s – the plague, a difficult defensive war, and corresponding economic difficulties – correlated with growing emphasis on militaristic and brutal expressions of Roman superiority over the Other. These attempts at self-definition may have fed off one another: as homeland became ever more closely associated with family, more extreme measures may have seemed justified for self-preservation.

Late-Antonine changes in the northern Campus Martius, however, confounded public space and distinctions between monumental and functional buildings. The topographical demarcation of Rome from non-Rome, Romans from the enemy, became less clear even as Rome's emperors and people apparently demanded a more sharply demarcated frontier. Ironically, the catastrophic rule of Commodus and its destructive aftermath demonstrated that the "enemy" was not always beyond the pale, but could be within Rome itself.

Constantine and the ghost of Maxentius

ELIZABETH MARLOWE

There is much controversy in recent scholarship on early fourth-century public buildings in Rome. Scholars disagree about whether the credit for these benefactions is due to Maxentius or to his successor Constantine; and as many as eight major structures have been reassigned from one to the other. At stake in these debates are questions about the political significance of Rome in late antiquity and the continuing ideological value of imperial benefactions there. In this chapter, I will identify the major points of contention, analyze some of their underlying causes, and offer a way not of sorting everything out but of understanding how the messy debates are themselves perhaps the most historically revealing thing. The ambiguities of the architectural patronage stem, I argue, from the broader complexities and contradictions of Constantine's response to Maxentius' legacy. To appreciate this, it will be useful first to outline briefly the historical circumstances behind Maxentius' spectacular rise and equally dramatic fall from power.

Constantine's complicated, ongoing response to Maxentius after his victory at the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312, was, in an important sense, a response to Rome. Since the time of the Tetrarchy, emperors had openly made their primary residences elsewhere in the empire, scarcely bothering to make even token, ceremonial appearances back in the city of Rome. The emperor Maximian, for example, was based only as far away as Milan, but waited nearly fourteen years before setting foot in the ancient capital.¹ The erstwhile *caput mundi* was fast becoming irrelevant to the governance of the increasingly decentralized empire, as emperors focused their energies and resources on the defense of their fragile, threatened borders. The new cities they founded near these borders were adorned with the elegant palaces, circuses, and porticoes of imported marble befitting an imperial capital (Mayer 2002). This is not to say that Rome was altogether neglected during the Tetrarchy, as the lavish remains of the Baths of Diocletian and

¹ This number is based upon *Pan. Lat.* 7.8.7, which refers to Maximian's triumphal entry into Rome after his Mauretanian victory in 299 as his first (*primo ingressu*) into the city. Pasqualini 1979: 70–77; Nixon 1981; Coarelli 1986; Nixon and Rodgers 1994: 201, n. 32; cf. Barnes 1982: 58.

other structures amply attest (Coarelli 1999a). Despite such impressive benefactions, however, numerous sources reveal the city's displeasure with its Tetrarchic rulers. The harshest report comes from the Christian author Lactantius (*DMP* 17.1–3), who describes Diocletian fleeing Rome after his hostile reception there during his vicennalia celebrations in 304 (his first visit to the city). While Lactantius' obviously biased text should be taken with a grain of salt, other sources confirm the general impression of a humiliated and angry ancient capital, particularly those that explicitly lament the Tetrarchs' absence. A panegyric delivered in Trier in 289, for example, beseeches Maximian:

O Emperor, how much more majestic would that city [Rome] now be, how much better would she celebrate this her birthday, if she were viewing you, surrounded by your Senate, on that famous citadel of Jupiter Capitolinus. Now, doubtless, her citizens are imagining that you are present by flocking to the temples to your divinities and following the practice instituted by our ancestors, by repeatedly invoking Jupiter Stator and Hercules Victor.²

There are any number of remarkable features in this passage, not least of which is the direct complaint about the emperors' failure to put in an appearance at Rome on the city's birthday. Also noteworthy is the fact that Jupiter and Hercules are honored not in their generic or universal guises as the Tetrarchic *comites* but rather in the very particular form of their metropolitan Roman cults, Jupiter Stator and Hercules Victor. The Tetrarchs are thus praised, but in distinctly local terms, terms that ultimately honor the ancient capital at least as much as they do the emperors. These double-edged compliments and complaints masquerading as praise offer a glimpse of the tension brewing in Rome in the late-third and early-fourth centuries over the city's relations with the distant emperors.³ It was this tension that led directly to Maxentius' usurpation.

The passed-over son of a Tetrarch and member of the Roman senate, Maxentius was living on a lavish country estate outside of Rome when, in 306, the emperor Galerius decided unwisely to revoke Rome's ancient tax privileges.⁴ The resulting outrage led directly to Maxentius' acclamation as emperor by the citizens and senate of the ancient capital. He eventually

² *Pan. Lat.* 10.13.4. All translations of panegyrics are from Nixon and Rodgers 1994. The speaker continues this argument through to the end of his speech, which concludes: "You perceive, O Emperor, how much power there is in the heavenly benefits you have conferred upon us: we still enjoy your presence; we already long for your return" (*Pan. Lat.* 10.14.5). More of the same at *Pan. Lat.* 11.12.1–2.

³ On the concept of a "praise–blame axis," see Bartsch 1994.

⁴ The best biography of Maxentius remains Groag 1930.

managed, with the help of the city's substantial military and monetary resources, to gain control of all of Italy and North Africa. Unlike Constantine's, Maxentius' usurpation was never legitimized by the Tetrarchic college. Despite several attempts to dislodge him, Maxentius held onto power for six years before meeting his watery end at Constantine's hands, just north of the city walls.

Much of the modern historiography has followed Constantinian propagandists like Eusebius and painted Maxentius as a persecutor of Christians and a cruel, illegitimate despot.⁵ But some recent scholarship has emphasized how deftly Maxentius manipulated Rome's wounded pride over the long absences of the imperial court.⁶ Indeed, Maxentius seems to have made the flattery and restoration of Rome the central theme of his regime. Maxentius' epithet of choice was *conservator urbis suae*, the preserver of his city, and to back up this claim he sponsored a series of splendid new buildings in the manner of the great architectural benefactors of the first and second centuries, an imperial practice that had lapsed in the intervening centuries (Daguet-Gagey 1997). His coinage featured the she-wolf and twins as well as the goddess Roma, who was also honored with the rebuilding of her fire-damaged temple on the Velia.⁷ Originally constructed by Hadrian, and the largest temple in Rome, the spectacular Temple of Venus and Roma served as the center of the celebration of the ancient festival of the *Parilia* in honor of Rome's birthday, and the cult was closely linked to the Roman Senate, whose members served as priests.⁸ The Temple seems to have been at the center of the lavish celebrations sponsored by the emperor Philip the Arab in 248 in honor of Rome's thousandth birthday.⁹ Maxentius invested heavily in its reconstruction; one recent study estimates that 10,000 people worked on the project (Monaco 2000: 59). The Maxentian design respected the basic

⁵ E.g., *Pan. Lat.* 12.3.6 and 4.3–5, 4.8.3; *Eus. VC* 1.35; *HE* 8.14.3–4. The most steadfast modern believer in the truth of these reports is Timothy Barnes, e.g. Barnes 1981, Barnes 1996 and Barnes 1998. For a cogent critique of his views, Cameron 1983.

⁶ Coarelli 1986; Cullhed 1994; Curran 2000; Dumser 2005.

⁷ Lupa on the coinage: *RIC* 6, Rome 190–91; Ostia 13, 16–20, 39–42, 51–52. Roma alone on the coinage: *RIC* 6, Rome 135, 143–44, 177–78; Ostia 2. Ticinum 106–09 depict Roma crowned by a figure (or figures) of Victory. Roma with Maxentius: Rome 166; Ticinum 110; and Aquileia 113–14. Roma in her temple: Rome, 162–65, 187, 194–205, 208–13, 258–63, 278–80; Ticinum 84–86, 91–95, 100–05; Aquileia 115–26. On Maxentius' rebuilding of the Temple of Venus and Roma, see now Dumser 2005: 195–282.

⁸ Gagé 1936; Boatwright 1987: 99–133. The cult was overseen by twelve priests, the *duodecimviri urbis Romae*. Inscriptions show that all the men who held this office were senators (e.g., *CIL* 6.510). In the later fourth century, the title was embraced by the leading participants in the “pagan” *Kulturkampf* of that era.

⁹ Gagé 1936 argues that the temple on Philip's MILIARIUM SAECULUM and SAECULUM NOVUM coins, issued for the occasion, was the Temple of Venus and Roma.

outline of Hadrian's temple, but radically altered the fabric. Marble-faced brick substituted for *opus quadratum*, while the wood-beamed, post-and-lintel *cellae* were replaced by concrete barrel vaults terminating in opposed, semi-circular apses. The material splendor of the new Temple of Venus and Roma eloquently expressed Maxentius' *pietas*, his respect for and devotion to the ancient capital and its institutions, symbols, and privileges. Thus, when Constantine entered the city the day after his civil war victory, he would have been cast by much of the city's population in the dubious role of slayer of Rome's greatest benefactor in recent memory; he, in turn, was laying eyes on the ancient capital for the first time in his life.

* * *

There is a degree of unease in the scholarship on architectural patronage in early fourth-century Rome, and it has little to do with the evidence of the buildings themselves. Any security on the subject of Constantinian and Maxentian benefactions is destabilized by a single line in the mid-fourth-century collection of imperial biographies composed by the historian Aurelius Victor. In his discussion of the aftermath of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Victor notes that "all the monuments which he [sc. Maxentius] had built magnificently, the city's sanctuary and basilica, the Senate has dedicated to Flavius [Constantine] because of his meritorious deeds."¹⁰ Maxentius' hand in the rebuilding of the "city's sanctuary" (no doubt the Temple of Venus and Roma) would have been known even without this passage, from both numismatic and other literary sources.¹¹ But the Basilica, the most architecturally daring design in late antique Rome and to this day one of the city's most imposing monuments, is another story. Victor's casual remark is the only thread by which our knowledge of the sponsorship of this building hangs.¹² Without it, we would have no reason to question the overwhelming textual evidence in support of Constantinian patronage. Two of the three major fourth-century sources for Roman topography, the *Notitia* (Reg. IV) and the *Chronograph* of 354, refer to the building unequivocally as the Basilica Constantiniana, while the *Curiosum* gives it the neutral title "Basilica Nova" in its regionally-organized list and "Basilica Constantiniana" in its summary section.¹³ By the mid-fourth century, in other words, this building was understood to be a Constantinian benefaction. This would have been a reasonable deduction to make, given the colossal seated statue

¹⁰ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.26: *adhuc cuncta opera, quae magnifice construxerat, urbis fanum atque basilicam, Flavii meritis patres sacravere.*

¹¹ *Chron.* 354, 148M: *hoc imp[erator] (sc. Maxentius) templum Romae arsit et fabricatum est.* On the coins, see above, n. 7.

¹² As noted by Coarelli 1986: 3.

¹³ *Chron.* 354, 146 M; *Notitia*, Reg. IV; *Curiosum*, Reg. IV and summaries; Dumser 2005: 64–66.

of Constantine (the marble fragments of which are now in the courtyard of the Conservatori Museum) that filled the building's western apse, and the dedicatory inscriptions in his name that were once no doubt prominently displayed above its entrances (of which no trace remains).

What Victor's comment illustrates mostly clearly is the degree to which history is written by the winners; it is the exception that proves the rule. It reveals how much control Constantine was otherwise able to exert over the historical memory of his civil-war rival, and how thoroughly he was able to expunge the record of Maxentius' good deeds and claim them for himself. The scholarly jitters it has provoked are visible in what can perhaps be described as a "Victor effect" in the recent historiography, in which suspicions have been articulated about any number of monuments that have traditionally been ascribed to Constantine but could in fact be Maxentian. A related phenomenon is the recent flurry of identifications of previously unrecognized Constantinian appropriations of Maxentian buildings, or of Maxentian phases in Constantinian ones. I will discuss some of these cases in detail below, but a quick overview is worthwhile:

- The veracity of Victor's account was long thought to be confirmed by archaeological evidence at the Basilica itself, whose southern entrance and northern apse were believed to show signs of having been added in a secondary – presumably Constantinian – building campaign. These alterations would have had the effect not only of making the structure newly accessible from the *via Sacra*, but also of radically reorienting the interior space, from east–west to south–north. But the scope of Constantine's interventions has been significantly downgraded in the most recent literature: the southern entrance along the *via Sacra* is now thought to have been part of the Maxentian design, while the apse seems to have been added to the plan midway through construction in response to structural, rather than ideological, concerns.¹⁴
- The brickstamps from the Baths on the Quirinal, a complex credited to Constantine in ancient and medieval sources, may indicate that this project, like the Basilica and the rebuilding of the Temple of Venus and Roma, was in fact chiefly a Maxentian initiative which Constantine simply finished up and claimed as his own.¹⁵
- The colossal statue of Constantine from the Basilica is now widely believed to have been recarved from a portrait of Maxentius.¹⁶

¹⁴ Buranelli Le Pera and D'Elia 1986: 247–49; Amici 2005.

¹⁵ Steinby 1986: 142.

¹⁶ Jucker 1983: 55–57; Coarelli 1986: 32; Ensoli 2000a: 88; Varner 2000: 14 and 2004: 287; Deckers 2005: 175. Harrison 1967 and Evers 1991 argued that the statue originally represented Hadrian.

- It has been suggested that the Arch of Constantine was erected originally as an Arch of Maxentius and appropriated and rededicated by Constantine after the civil war.¹⁷
- A Constantinian inscription recorded in two Renaissance drawings of the Rotunda complex on the via Sacra (the so-called “Temple of Romulus”), in combination with recently discovered archaeological traces of a major renovation to the building’s façade, has been taken as evidence for a Constantinian appropriation of this Maxentian structure.¹⁸
- It has been proposed that the location of the Lateran Basilica complex, and even the influential, round form of the Baptistery, may be a response to an earlier, Maxentian phase of the site, when it served as the barracks for Maxentius’ praetorian guard.¹⁹
- There is some evidence, albeit indirect and unpublished, that Constantine undid a Maxentian appropriation of the Neronian Solar Colossus in the Colosseum Valley, and in so doing, presumably made his own claim to the famous statue. In the course of a major conservation campaign at the Arch of Constantine in the 1980s, Adriano La Regina claims to have found fragments of an enormous inscription panel recording the rededication of the Colossus to Maxentius’ deceased son Romulus, built into the interior of the Arch’s attic. These were presumably removed from the statue’s base, buried in the attic of the monument celebrating Maxentius’ defeat, and replaced by a new Constantinian inscription.²⁰
- I myself will be adding to this literature in a forthcoming article, in which I argue that the quadrifrontal arch in the Velabrum, called an “*arcus divi Constantini*” in one of the Regionary Catalogues, was in fact built by Maxentius and subsequently appropriated by Constantine.

Of these various reattributions and identifications, Steinby’s concerning the brickstamps at the Quirinal Bath complex has made the greatest impact on the literature.²¹ The previously unquestioned attribution of the Baths to Constantine was well-supported by an ancient inscription (*CIL* 6.1750), notices in both Regionary Catalogues, Ammianus Marcellinus (27.3.8),

¹⁷ Knudsen 1989; Hannestad 1994: 66; Ensoli 2000a: 87; Holloway 2003.

¹⁸ Fiore 1981.

¹⁹ Pelliccioni 1975; Krautheimer 1983: 15; Barcelo 1992; Brandt 2001.

²⁰ The fragmentary inscription panels were discussed in 1988 by Adriano La Regina in an unpublished talk at the ninth Incontro di Studio of the Comitato per Archeologia laziale; see Ensoli 2000a: 86, and Marlowe 2006: 239, n. 34 for further details.

²¹ The bath complex is now buried beneath the Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini but was largely intact and carefully studied by antiquarians in the sixteenth century. Vilucchi 1985 and in *LTUR* 5: 49–51; Astolfi 2003.

and by Aurelius Victor, who notes that Constantine built a bath complex “not much different” from the others in the capital (*de Caes.* 40.27). The well-known statues of Constantine and one of his sons now adorning the balustrade of the Campidoglio and the vestibule of the Lateran Basilica were found in the vicinity of the Quirinal complex, further reinforcing the association. Steinby herself did not hide her shock upon discovering *in situ* a range of Maxentian brickstamps, “but not a single typically Constantinian stamp?” The complex, she concluded, must in fact have been built by Maxentius and subsequently somehow appropriated by his successor. Though there are serious problems with Steinby’s methodology (it hardly seems necessary to point out that Constantine would have had no reason to prohibit his builders from using up their supply of bricks stamped with Maxentian dates; see further Dumser 2005: 33–36), her hypothesis has been widely accepted, in no small part because it fits comfortably with the pattern of Constantinian appropriations of Maxentian benefactions established by Aurelius Victor. Generalizing from these examples, topographers of ancient Rome such as Pensabene downplay Constantine’s overall architectural impact on the city, noting that Constantine “limited himself to completing the projects begun by Maxentius.”²²

* * *

The implications of this revisionist scholarship are significant, for they reinforce older ideas about Constantine’s Christianity and his strained relations with Rome. Starting from the observation that his greatest architectural efforts were expended upon a series of Christian churches in the city’s outskirts, scholars such as Krautheimer and Alföldi painted an influential portrait of Constantine as fundamentally uninterested in – if not outright hostile to – the city-center and its pagan traditions, including the traditional ideals of the imperial benefactor, which they saw as clashing with his Christianity.²³ Constantine, in short, was seen as a Christian first, and as an emperor only secondarily.²⁴ This view, predicated upon the belief that Constantine became a fully committed, orthodox Christian after a celestially inspired battlefield conversion in 312 (Lact. *DMP* 44; Eus. *VC* 1.27–32), has recently been challenged from a number of directions by a body of more theoretically sophisticated scholarship.²⁵ None of these works,

²² Pensabene 1992: 762. Similar sentiments are expressed by Coarelli 1986: 2; Varner 2000: 22, n. 56; Holloway 2004: 16.

²³ Typical are Alföldi 1948: 91–104; Krautheimer 1983: 7–40; Pohlsander 1996: 60–61.

²⁴ Similarly Barnes 1981; Elliot 1996; Fraschetti 1999; Odahl 2004.

²⁵ E.g., Grünewald 1990; Cameron 1991 and 1997; Leeb 1992; Evans-Grubb 1995; Digeser 2000; Drake 2000; Wallraff 2001.

however, addressed the question of Constantine's architectural benefactions in Rome. At the same time, the renewed interest in Maxentian patronage largely served to reinforce those older ideas about Constantine and Rome. In many recent publications, a stark line ("una vera rottura," according to Coarelli 1999a: 33) is drawn between Maxentius, the great traditionalist, champion of Rome, and lavish architectural benefactor, and Constantine, the forward-looking Christian innovator who turned his back on the pagan city completely. Typical is the model offered by the *Aurea Roma* exhibit, held in Rome in 2000:

The rout of Maxentius and the triumph of Constantine in 312 mark a profound change in imperial urban policy in Rome. Although hardly irrelevant in terms of quantity, Constantine's building activity participates in a completely changed discourse . . . In few matters as much as their respective building policies in Rome do the Tetrarchic-Maxentian era and that of Constantine truly stand on opposite sides of a ridge dividing two worlds – one the final defense of an expiring world, the other an affirmation of new conceptions . . . Constantine refused to intervene in the central area of the city and – with the possible exception only of the Quirinal Baths – to undertake great public works. His interests were directed toward the creation of a Christian topography, deliberately marginal with respect to the imperial city. Constantine's choice of renouncement was a winning one. Within a few centuries, not even a memory would be preserved of the gigantic Tetrarchic works in the area of the Forum, whereas the urban history of Rome would be organized – down to the present day – around the poles of the Lateran complex and St. Peter's at the Vatican.²⁶

This blatantly teleological view, in which Constantine is credited with making the "winning" move on the basis of what would happen within "a few centuries," reflects only how things look from our perspective, long after the fact. There is very little attempt to understand the contemporary motives behind Constantine's choices.²⁷ Furthermore, the attributions are seen as a zero-sum game, in which Maxentius' gain necessarily entails Constantine's loss. Either Maxentius cared about traditional architectural patronage, and, by extension, about Rome, or else Constantine did, but not both.

The problem with this argument is its overly polarized view of the two reigns, "stand[ing] on opposite sides of a ridge dividing two worlds," in defiance of the wide-ranging evidence for continuity and borrowing between them. When Constantine came to power in Rome, he showed great clemency toward Maxentius' supporters, for example. In addition to passing an edict against informers, he abstained from any sort of purge of the senatorial

²⁶ Valenzani 2000: 42–44 (my translation).

²⁷ An intelligent critique is offered by Hunt 2003.

or administrative ranks.²⁸ In fact, a remarkable number of the officials appointed by Constantine to offices such as the increasingly powerful urban prefecture had held this or other important offices under Maxentius.²⁹ Constantine seems to have been more concerned to appoint men from the narrow circle of Rome's oldest, wealthiest, and most established families than to use the office to distance himself from his predecessor in any political, ideological, or religious way.³⁰ This principle applied even when the officials in question had overseen the persecution of Christians.³¹

* * *

Given the stability within the small circle of men who ran the city in the early fourth century, and the interests (presumably both financial and in terms of civic pride) they would have had in Maxentius' large-scale public works, there is little reason to think that construction of them would not have resumed as soon as the dust of the civil war had settled. What other choice would Constantine have had? One might expect that he would want to tear down such ostentatious symbols of Maxentius' Romaphilia (and popularity). But as Davies has recently shown, there is, in fact, very little (if any) precedent for the active destruction of buildings in Rome with a change in regime, even in the most notorious cases of *damnatio memoriae* (Davies 2000b). He could try to ignore the construction sites in the city-center, with their cranes, raw materials, work-crews, and half-finished structures, or even quietly redirect funds away from them; but such passive aggression would no doubt have angered a wide swath of the Roman population, an audience whom, given recent history, he knew he very much needed to win over. Surely the path of least resistance – and greatest benefit – for Constantine would have been to assume responsibility – and credit – for Maxentius' buildings, finished or not. Indeed, it would have been relatively easy to rewrite the recent past and pretend at the subsequent dedication or

²⁸ Clemency: Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.25; Zos. 2.17.2. Informers: *Cod. Theod.* 10.10.2; cf. Evans-Grubbs 1995: 23, n. 88 and 113.

²⁹ Chastagnol 1976. Chastagnol 1960: 180–83 and *passim* (as well as Chastagnol 1997) argues that it was under Constantine that the office of the urban prefect was granted most of the powers of civil and judicial administration in Rome. Coarelli 1986: 29 disagrees, arguing that these changes were instituted under Maxentius.

³⁰ The three urban prefects who served between 312 and 315 had all previously held the post under Maxentius. One of them, Caeionius Rufius Volusianus, had served Maxentius as both urban prefect and praetorian prefect. Two of them, Aradius Rufinus and Annius Anullinus, were related by marriage. Barnes 1982: 110–17; Curran 2000: 58.

³¹ Annius Anullinus, for example, had served as proconsul of Africa under Diocletian and apparently enforced the persecutions there, for his name appears frequently in the *Gesta martyrum*. Constantine's policy changed only in 325, with the appointment to the urban prefecture of Acilius Severus, a Christian not born of senatorial rank but *adlectus*.

rededication ceremony that the projects had been Constantine's all along – there would be no need to mention their origins under Maxentius. The situation is comparable to that of Trajan taking over and completing the market and forum in Rome begun (as we know from both archaeological and textual evidence) under Domitian.³² It is inconceivable that the Domitianic origins of the complex would have been recalled in any official context.

The high degree of pragmatic continuity between Constantine's and Maxentius' regimes thus offers one explanation for the apparent ease with which Constantine appropriated Maxentian projects like the Quirinal Bath complex. At the same time, however, some of these buildings show signs of radical interventions, visible in alterations to their basic design. Many scholars have suggested that with these adaptations, Constantine sought to make his mark on the Maxentian structure, to reify his act of appropriation, and to make the monument in some fundamental way his own. The best-known example of this is the Basilica Nova (fig. 7.1). It has been understood since Nibby's 1819 study that this building's massive northern apse belongs to a secondary construction phase, a fact which has been repeatedly confirmed.³³ From this, Nibby hypothesized that the facing southern entrance portico on the via Sacra was a later addition as well (the original entrance being through the narrow narthex on the building's eastern end), and that both were built by Constantine in conjunction with his appropriation of the structure, as mentioned by Victor (fig. 7.2). The whole of these adaptations would amount to more than the sum of their parts, for it would have the effect of completely reorienting the building, from east–west to south–north. Such a reorientation would, in turn, radically transform how the viewer experienced the extraordinary vaulted space within, as well

³² Once again, it is Aurelius Victor who provides the crucial data: "Furthermore at Rome he [Trajan] improved and decorated in a more than magnificent fashion a forum and many other structures begun by Domitian" (*de Caes.* 13.5). Likewise Jerome, who, in his Latin translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, lists the Forum of Trajan among the "*multa opera Romae*" built by Domitian; see Anderson 1983. These reports are confirmed by Domitianic brick-stamps found in the lower levels and stairs of the Markets of Trajan: Bloch 1947: 53–55, 62; Blake 1959: 105. On this evidence, Anderson 1981 argues that basic plans for the markets as well as the cutting back of the Quirinal slope were completed under Domitian. See also Darwall-Smith 1996: 240–48. On Trajan as the "continuator" of Domitian's legislative and administrative policies, see Waters 1969.

³³ Nibby 1819; most recently, Amici 2005: 57–60 and figs. 2.46–50. The evidence is wide-ranging. For example, the foundations of the original, flat, demolished northern wall were visible and noted by Giacomo Boni in the nineteenth century, as reported by Ashby 1905: 76 (cited by Amici, n. 18). Furthermore, on the exterior of the roof, it is evident that the "ribbing in bipedales at the face of the apse . . . does not bond with the ribbing, also in bipedales, of the face of the barrel vault of the corresponding side aisle" (Amici 2005: 59, with fig. 2.49).

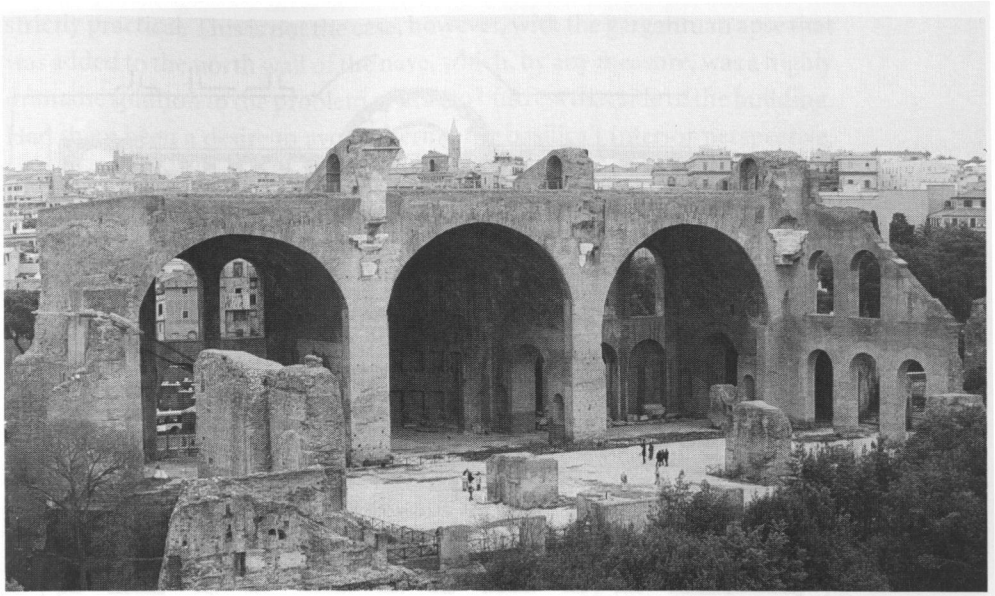


Fig. 7.1 Basilica Nova.

as how the structure fitted into its busy urban surroundings.³⁴ Nibby's hypothesis was expanded upon in 1932 in a major study of the structure by Minoprio; his interpretation of the Maxentian and Constantinian building phases was widely accepted.³⁵

Recent archaeological work at the site, however, suggests that Constantine's interventions may in fact have been more limited, for the southern entrance is now known to have been part of the building's original design.³⁶ This leaves the northern apse as the product of a later building stage, though the ideological significance of this (still presumably Constantinian)³⁷ addition has likewise been questioned. The new, monographic study of the building emphasizes the structural purposes served by the addition of this curved element, arguing that it strengthened the northern wall against the countervailing forces of the Velian hill:

³⁴ The phenomenological effects of the reorientation are explored in Marlowe 2006.

³⁵ E.g., by Nash 1961: I.180; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 502–03; Krautheimer 1980: 8–9, 28; Ward-Perkins 1984: 38; Richardson 1992: 52; Kultermann 1996: 58–59; Bauer 1996: 58; Claridge 1998: 115–16; Curran 2000: 81; Marlowe 2006: 231; and Johnson 2006: 280.

³⁶ First suggested, albeit cautiously, by Buranelli le Pera and D'Elia 1986: 247–49, with figs. 11 and 12; see now, definitively, Amici 2005: 38–42 and n. 16.

³⁷ Coarelli 1986: 32f dates the alterations to the late fourth or early fifth centuries; Claridge 1998: 116, Curran 2000: 81, n. 56 and Amici 2005: 72, n. 21 find the earlier date more plausible.

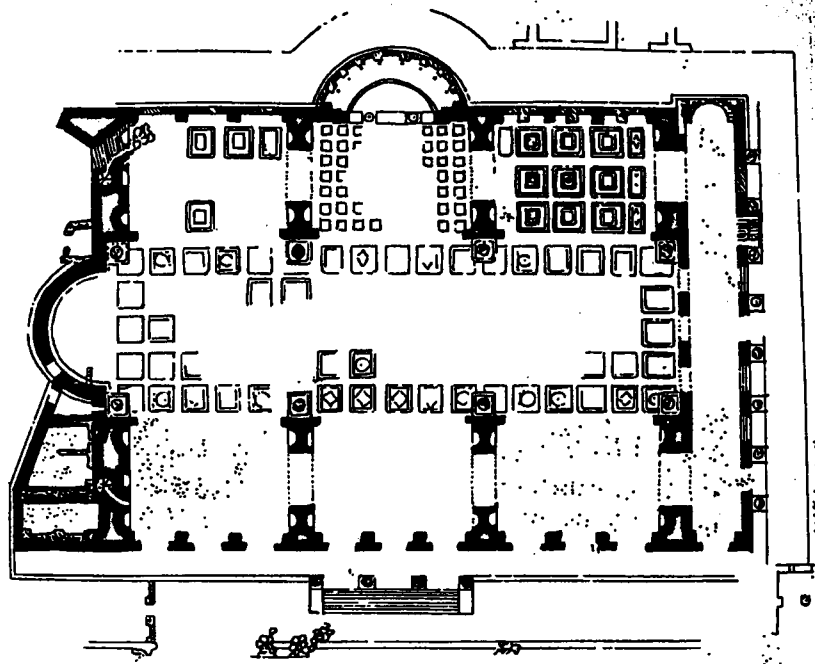


Fig. 7.2 Basilica Nova, plan.

Though there is no proof that the perimeter area to the north and the reinforcing elements [i.e. the apse] were completed during the Constantinian era, it probably became clear that the Basilica needed to be reinforced in a coordinated manner after the settlement that took place during the interruption of the construction work imposed by the civil war between Maxentius and Constantine. In any case, the reinforcing work was performed as a completion of the original architectural project, and not as autonomously developed additions.³⁸

The assumption here is that such adaptations are either structurally or ideologically motivated *but not both*. Acceptance of this premise depends on how much meaning one wishes to attach to Constantine's architectural patronage in Rome; arguments can be made for either side. In support of the notion that the building's northern flank was found unexpectedly, in mid-construction, to be in need of reinforcement – and hence of the “non-ideological” reading of the new apse – is the late addition of an analogous, asymmetrical apse at the north end of the narthex.³⁹ The visual modesty of the narthex apse makes it hard to interpret in any terms other than the

³⁸ Amici 2005: 60.

³⁹ Amici 2005: 58 and fig. 2.52.

strictly practical. This is not the case, however, with the gargantuan apse that was added to the north wall of the nave, which, by any measure, was a highly dramatic solution to the problem of how to buttress that side of the building. Had there been a desire to avoid altering the basilica's interior perspective, other, less obtrusive options were available, such as the exterior buttressing arches that the designers had already employed against the building's eastern and western flanks.⁴⁰ There is no question that the apse's monumental form would have been quite impressive to the spectator entering from the *via Sacra*. Framed by two pillars in *antis*, two columns, and an entablature, its drum adorned by sixteen large, presumably statue-bearing, niches, and its vault stuccoed and coffered, the apse was designed for maximal visual effect. It must have made the building appear substantially longer across this axis, and exerted a kind of magnetic pull on the spectator, urging him in from the side aisle entrance toward the central nave of the building, where the full, jaw-dropping effect of the 35-meter high vaults would have been visible. Thus, even if the late addition of the apse was motivated by something as banal as "unexpected ground settlement" (Amici 2005: 159), it is undeniable that Constantine made a virtue of necessity. He changed the viewer's experience of the building in ways that would have reinforced his claim to it, a claim further articulated by the recarved colossus in the western apse and the installation of dedicatory inscriptions above the entrances.

Nibby's and Minoprio's notion that Constantine would make highly visible adaptations to a Maxentian structure chiefly for the sake of dramatizing his appropriation of it, even if not the whole story at the Basilica, was influential. It has strongly shaped the way recent archaeological discoveries at the so-called Temple of Romulus, just to the west of the Basilica along the *via Sacra*, have been interpreted (fig. 7.3). This somewhat mysterious building comprises a large round room, 15 meters in diameter, originally covered by a concrete dome pierced at the top by an oculus, and flanked by a pair of long, apsidal halls. On the rotunda's exterior, the central doorway is bordered on three sides by an elegantly carved entablature and framed by a pair of porphyry columns with white marble capitals, which support an elaborate cornice.⁴¹ A curved façade reaches out toward the *via Sacra* and links the central door with the front ends of the flanking halls, in front of which large, green columns stood on high plinths. Inside the rotunda, a wide, monumental, off-axis marble-frame door at the back opened directly onto the southeasternmost hall of the *Templum Pacis*, originally built under Vespasian in AD 75. In conjunction with the rotunda's construction, this hall

⁴⁰ Amici 2005: 50 and fig. 2.41 and 2.42.

⁴¹ Most of these elements are *spolia*.



Fig. 7.3 Temple of Romulus.

was radically remodeled, bisected across its width and outfitted with a transverse apse (fig. 4). These alterations transformed the room from a simple rectangular space into one that closely resembled a typical Roman apsidal audience hall.⁴²

Maxentius' Rotunda on the *via Sacra* thus functioned as a passageway, offering direct access from this major thoroughfare into the renovated *Templum Pacis*. Its round form negotiated and masked the 22-degree variation in axis between the ancient structures of the Forum and the relatively newer zone of the imperial fora to the north. It also served to broadcast to someone passing along the *via Sacra* the otherwise undetectable transformation that had taken place in the interior space of the Flavian building to the north, and to direct them toward it. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing what kind of activities took place in the now-apsidal southern hall of the *Templum Pacis*, for which the *via Sacra* Rotunda served as such a grandiose vestibule. Its common identification as an audience hall for the urban prefect, however, is not implausible, given its form and size.⁴³ Finally, as the

⁴² Other adaptations to this hall were made concurrently, including the raising of the perimeter walls and their perforation by a row of arched clerestory windows: Tucci 2001; Dumser 2005: 121. In the early sixth century, Pope Felix IV transformed this hall into the Church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, whose subsequent renovations, during the Baroque period, obliterated much of the evidence for the ancient hall.

⁴³ Frazer 1964: 115–20; Dumser 2005: 162–67 with additional bibliography. The hall is hypothesized to have been the preserve of a very high-ranking but non-imperial official such as

first of three major Maxentian structures that travelers leaving the Roman Forum encountered on the eastward journey up the via Sacra, the Rotunda advertised in grand style the generosity of the benefactor of the space the traveler was about to enter.

It would not be surprising if Constantine saw the need to do something about this elegant and ostentatious manifestation of his rival's beneficence. There is, in fact, some evidence that suggests a quite aggressive and highly visible Constantinian intervention here. During excavations in the early 1970s, the foundations of an earlier, rectilinear façade were discovered behind the extant, curved one.⁴⁴ It consisted of a flat wall running along the front of the rotunda with projecting walls at either end, forming a rectangular forecourt, and was apparently replaced almost immediately by the curved version.⁴⁵ This adaptation is something of a mystery: why go to the trouble of turning a rectilinear forecourt into a curved one? Boëthius and Ward-Perkins assert that "It is hard to suggest any other than purely aesthetic reasons for the modifications to the façade – a deliberate exploitation of the contrast between the convex rotunda and concave forecourt, both framed between the projecting wings."

There is no denying the aesthetic appeal of the contrasting curves. But if the change can be attributed to Constantine, we can imagine ideological motives as well.⁴⁶ After all, the rotunda seems to have been more about spectacle than function, serving primarily to aggrandize the Forum entrance to the new apsidal hall behind it. It was already in essence a billboard, a reification of Maxentius' stewardship of the ancient capital and its institutions (perhaps including the urban prefecture). By markedly altering

the urban prefect on the assumption that the emperor himself would have received audiences in the much grander (but similarly apsidal) spaces of either the Basilica up the street or the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill. The association of the Templum Pacis with the urban prefecture, based on the location here (i.e., on the other side of the north wall of the hall under discussion) of the Severan Forma Urbis, has come under strong criticism in the most recent literature: Rodríguez Almeida 2002: 72–74; Najbjerg and Trimble 2004: 577–83. Likewise, the older identification of the via Sacra Rotunda as a Maxentian dynastic monument, based on an overly literal reading of the round structure depicted on his AETERNAE MEMORIAE coinage, is convincingly refuted by Dumser 2006.

⁴⁴ Fiore 1981: 74–81 and Martini 1981: 96–100.

⁴⁵ The excavators also note that the curved façade abuts but is not bonded to the walls of the rotunda or to the projecting side halls, further indicating that the extant façade dates to a secondary building phase. The same conclusions had already been reached by J. B. Ward-Perkins some twenty years earlier but never systematically published; e.g. Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 505. The masonry characteristics of the curved façade are the same as those of the rotunda proper: Dumser 2005: 129.

⁴⁶ The transformation of the façade is credited to Constantine by Heres 1982: 196 as well as by the excavators Fiore and Martini.

its form, Constantine monumentalized his victory over Maxentius and his imposition of a new regime and civic order. The Maxentian rotunda in Constantine's hands was thus like a trophy: enemy arms piled up on the battlefield by the victor, no longer signifying strength and aggression but their opposite, defeat.

The triumphal connotations of this Constantinian appropriation may also have been underscored epigraphically. A detailed drawing of the Rotunda's façade by Pirro Ligorio, completed before the renovations of Pope Pius IV in 1562, records two parts of an inscription: IMP CAES CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS TRIUMPH and PIUS FELIX AUGUSTUS.⁴⁷ These appear both in the upper left-hand corner of the page and again on the architrave of the building's façade. These epigraphic data should be used cautiously, as it may well incorporate Ligorio's own integrations, a practice for which he is well-known; there is also little precedent for an inscription running along an architrave whose surface is not strictly two-dimensional. This does not necessarily mean that the whole text is bogus, however, for Ligorio may have been imaginatively reassembling and re-installing phrases he had in fact read on fallen blocks around the site. Another drawing, by his contemporary Panvinio, likewise records an inscription from this building, but includes only the words MAXIMO . . . ME on one side and CONSTANTIN on the other; this can perhaps be understood as a more conservative transcription of the same fragments.⁴⁸ Such an inscription, if genuine, would thus have given a clear ideological charge to Constantine's architectural appropriation of this Maxentian monument.

It is worth noting briefly that this argument can be extended to a number of other buildings. Aurelius Victor explicitly mentions the Temple of Venus and Roma as having been taken over by Constantine, so if Constantine did indeed advertise his appropriations through physical interventions into the structures themselves we would expect to find evidence of it here. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for this temple is compromised by numerous post-classical adaptations of the structure, most notably the twelfth-century building of the church and convent of S. Francesca Romana into its frame, as well as the heavy-handed reintegrations under the Fascists. Nevertheless, an archaeological survey of its fabric was conducted from 1998 to 2000, and the preliminary reports do indicate that, immediately following the initial Maxentian building phase, the square niches on either side of the

⁴⁷ P. Ligorio, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3439, f. 40, cited and discussed by Lupi and Pettinau 1981: 58–59. On Ligorio's archaeological and topographical drawings, see Castagnoli 1952.

⁴⁸ Lupi and Pettinau 1981: 59; Grünewald 1990, no. 249; and *CIL* 6.1147. The "ME" can perhaps be read "MP", as in "[TRIU]MP[H]."

central apse were filled in, and a new architrave installed (Monaco 2000: 59). This is as much as can be determined from what is left of the building; presumably these alterations to the interior cellae, if Constantinian, would have been part of a larger, more visible campaign that would have made the Senate's rededication of the building to him visible from the exterior as well.

* * *

Or not. As should be clear by now, none of the evidence for these proposed Constantinian appropriations of Maxentian structures is conclusive or unequivocal; how one chooses to interpret it depends a great deal on one's assumptions regarding Constantine's and Maxentius' relative roles as architectural patrons in Rome.⁴⁹ This inevitable ambiguity is the result of many factors: Aurelius Victor's destabilizing comment, the remarkable degree of administrative continuity between the reigns of Maxentius and Constantine, and the high stakes in all interpretations of Constantine's Christianity. In the final section of this essay I will suggest that the ambiguities were themselves advantageous to Constantine, and have direct parallels in Constantinian imagery and rhetoric. In order to see this, we must first look a little more closely at the implications of Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in 312.

This victory gave Constantine dominion over the entire western half of the empire; eventually he would wage war on Licinius, the last remaining Tetrarch, to seize the eastern half as well, thereby reuniting the Roman world under a single ruler for the first time in almost a century. In the meantime, however, Maxentius' reign had revealed something quite significant. It had shattered the Tetrarchic fiction that Rome was just another of the empire's many big cities, that the capital was wherever the emperor was.⁵⁰ Despite the radical reorganization and decentralization of the imperial administration

⁴⁹ In her recent dissertation on Maxentian architecture, for example, E. Dumser comes down strongly on the Maxentian side of the debate. Dumser 2005: 129–30 makes the argument that the switch to a curved façade at the via Sacra Rotunda took place under Maxentius (and not Constantine) by linking the change to another mid-construction alteration to the original design. Four planned windows in the drum of the rotunda were filled in with masonry before the revetment was installed on the interior walls. Dumser suggests that this change was motivated by the fact that the curved façade (unlike the originally planned flat one) blocked the light to the windows, and deduces that the curved façade must have been in place before the revetment, i.e., at a relatively early moment in the building process, i.e., under Maxentius and not Constantine. The argument is plausible but hardly airtight (and does not explain why the flat façade would have been replaced with a curved one in the first place); what it illustrates clearly, in conjunction with the alternative chronology outlined above, is how the privileging of different evidence can yield sharply different results in cases where hard facts are so lacking.

⁵⁰ "Rome is where the emperor is," in Herodian's formulation (1.6.5). Mayer 2002: 1–3 and *passim*.

in the third century, the city of Rome still maintained a remarkable degree of what we might call “symbolic capital,” namely its cultural, psychological, and material synonymy with the Roman empire and with imperial history. Maxentius had proven that this symbolic capital, in combination with the city’s financial and military resources, could be converted into real political power. Maxentius’ lingering ghost was the knowledge that the city of Rome presented a tangible threat to Constantine’s hold on power.

Constantine employed a number of cold, hard strategies to diminish this threat. He disbanded Rome’s praetorian guard, transferred the production of gold and silver coinage to a mobile imperial mint, and flooded the senate with new appointees from the provinces.⁵¹ But alongside this virtual emasculation of the ancient capital, there is also evidence of a politics of persuasion. Constantine seems to have realized that the best way to prevent the senate and people of Rome from spawning another usurper would be to convince them that their interests were his interests. There is at least one non-Christian architectural benefaction in Rome that seems to have been entirely Constantine’s, and it is no surprise that it is a crowd-pleaser: a series of lavish embellishments to the Circus Maximus.⁵² Even the rather staid Aurelius Victor reports enthusiastically that Constantine “completed the decorations on the Circus Maximus in a marvelous fashion” (*de Caes.* 40.27), while Nazarius’ panegyric offers a rather more purple description: “Lofty porticoes and columns glowing red with gold have given such uncommon adornment to the Circus Maximus itself that people gather there no less eagerly for the sake of the place than for the pleasure of the spectacle” (*Pan. Lat.* 4.35.5). Constantine increased the structure’s capacity with an additional outer ring of seating, and planned to install the 1,800-year-old Heliopolitan obelisk of Thutmose III, the largest in the world, on its spina, making him the first emperor since Caligula to attempt to relocate an original, Pharaonic Egyptian obelisk to Rome.⁵³

⁵¹ On the disbanding of the praetorian guard: see *Pan. Lat.* 12.21.3; 4.33.6; Zos. 2.17.2; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.25; cf. Speidel 1994. On the reconfiguration of the imperial mint: Bruun 1961 and M. Alföldi 1963. On the Senate under Constantine: *Pan. Lat.* 4.35.2 and Amm. Marc. 21.10.8; cf. A. Alföldi 1948: 75; Chastagnol 1976: 53–60; Salzman 2002.

⁵² Constantine’s interest in the structure may have been motivated in part by its dire need for repairs, for the Chronographer of 354 reports that 13,000 spectators were killed there during the reign of Diocletian, when part of it collapsed. His interventions, however, went well beyond simple repairs: Humphrey 1981: 129.

⁵³ Under Constantine, the obelisk made it as far as Thebes; the project was finally completed, by means of a specially built ship, by his son, Constantius II (Amm. Marc. 16.10.17, 17.4.12–18; Cass. Var. 3.51.8). The events leading to its installation in Rome are also recounted on its base: CIL 6.1163, 31249 = ILS 736. It has stood since 1587 in the Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano.

In comparison with the massive scale of Maxentius' building projects in Rome or indeed with Constantine's enormous new spaces for Christian worship on the city's outskirts, Constantine's interventions in the material fabric of the city center appear rather superficial. Strictly in terms of quantity, it may well be correct that, as the *Aurea Roma* catalogue claimed, "in few matters as much as their respective building policies in Rome do the Tetrarchic-Maxentian era and that of Constantine truly stand on opposite sides of a ridge dividing two worlds." But this polarized assessment, as well as the current, revisionist, zero-sum impulse to figure out exactly who built what, loses sight of an important historical aspect, namely, the ideological advantages that *both* emperors sought in their self-fashioning as architectural benefactors of the ancient capital. The less (it turns out) Constantine actually built, the more remarkable his consistent efforts to associate his name with all these structures. It is the increasingly evident gap between rhetoric and reality that is truly historically revealing. Whether he himself actually built the Quirinal Baths and the northern apse of the Basilica Nova, or did as little as simply installing some new, self-aggrandizing statues and inscriptions there, the point is that he thought it worth his while to make sure he got the credit for a long list of public amenities in Rome, despite the city's irrelevance in the radically reconfigured political geography of the post-Tetrarchic empire.

The value of being seen as an architectural benefactor of the ancient capital was a lesson Constantine had learned from his defeated civil war rival, Maxentius. Constantine's aims with regard to his predecessor were deeply paradoxical: he waged war on his memory by emulating his deeds; he emulated him but called him an enemy of state. Nowhere are the ironies more directly evident than on a coin issued in Rome in 313 (*RIC* 6, Rome, 303–4). The coin exactly repeats the language and imagery of Maxentius' standard CONSERVATOR URBIS SUAE type, but changes a single word: the new emperor is the LIBERATOR URBIS SUAE. On the one hand, we can choose to emphasize this changed word, from *conservator* to *liberator*. If Constantine is a liberator, then Maxentius is a tyrant, from whose rapacious clutches Constantine mercifully freed the city. Indeed, the construction of Maxentius as a tyrant and Constantine as a liberator are standard elements in Constantinian imagery and rhetoric, as is apparent in the various inscription panels on his triumphal arch.⁵⁴ Constantine cancelled Maxentius' laws, chiseled his name out of inscriptions, and generally followed the pattern of the

⁵⁴ The main inscription in the attic refers to Maxentius as a tyrant, while one of the central passageway inscriptions hails Constantine as the *liberator urbis*.

damnatio memoriae. Eusebius assures us that Constantine's march on Rome was motivated by his awareness that "the imperial city of the Roman Empire lay oppressed by bondage to a tyrant . . . He declared that his life was not worth living if he were to allow the imperial city to remain in such a plight, and began preparations to overthrow the tyranny."⁵⁵ From this perspective, the change in legends on the two numismatic types, from *conservator urbis suae* to *liberator urbis suae*, is a very significant one, underscoring for Constantine the sharp distinction between himself and his predecessor.

Equally significant, however, is the fact that with the exception of that one word, Constantine's coin is identical to Maxentius'. The distinctive reference to "his city" and the depiction of a particular work of architecture are unchanged. No one in Rome in 313 could have looked at this coin without recalling the standard type of Constantine's predecessor. It is hard to believe that this is simply the product of a lazy mint-master, who could not be bothered to come up with new types for the newly installed conqueror of the city. In fact, most of the other Roman coins issued in this period respond quite carefully to Constantinian themes; the most common type, for example, depicts Constantine's patron deity, Sol Invictus.⁵⁶ But the reuse of the language and imagery of Constantine's defeated civil war foe on this one coin seems calculated to encourage a comparison between the two emperors, and to suggest that Constantine was, in some fundamental way, *like* Maxentius, even Maxentius' double. At the same time, the nearly identical nature of the two coins would have made the significance of the one changed word stand out all the more clearly.

Critical here is exactly what aspect of Maxentius' regime Constantine is "doubling." It is his relationship to "his city," i.e. to Rome, and its major architectural monuments. It is no accident that the structure depicted on the coin is the spectacular Temple of Venus and Roma, whose rebuilding was the most visible proof of Maxentius' respect for the ancient capital and its traditions. Constantine made it his business to put his mark on his predecessor's architectural benefactions, and thereby to demonstrate that he would take care of "his" city in just the same ways that Maxentius had done, even though he went to such pains in so many other contexts to brand

⁵⁵ Eus. VC 1.26. In sections 33–38 of his biography, Eusebius refers to Maxentius as a tyrant eleven times. Constantine's panegyrist Nazarius calls Maxentius a tyrant six times: *Pan. Lat.* 4.6.2, 7.4, 30.1, 31.4, 32.6, 34.4. Grünewald 1990: 64–71.

⁵⁶ Typical examples of Constantine's Sol Invictus coinage from Rome: RIC VII 19, 27, 33, 40, 48, 52, 57.

Maxentius a tyrant. If images like the *liberator* coin and acts like the senatorial rededication of the Basilica and Temple fostered a degree of ambiguity about the borders between Maxentian and Constantinian benefactions, so much the better for Constantine. Constantine claimed to have liberated the city from Maxentius, but he was clearly unable to free himself from Maxentius' ghost.

8 | The portraits of Roman emperors and their families

*Controversial positions and unsolved problems**

KLAUS FITTSCHEN

The portraits of the Roman emperors and their families were set before the inhabitants of the Roman empire in a quantity that was not to be duplicated by any one subsequent political system, not even the modern absolutist kingdoms. This is demonstrated not only by the frequency of these portraits, but also by the way in which they were presented in the public realm. Approximately 5,000 of these portraits¹ have survived from the reign of Augustus to the Tetrarchy; from this, one can deduce that their original number must have reached into the hundreds of thousands, if not into the millions. In their portraits, the Roman emperors and their families were omnipresent indeed. This is true of all areas of the Roman empire, but is, of course, particularly true in the case of Rome: here the greatest number of temples to the imperial cult and the largest complexes of imperial public buildings were gathered in one city. The workshops in which these portraits were designed and replicated in copies might also have been located here; these copies were, moreover, sent out to other parts of the empire, where they could then in turn serve as models for copies made locally.

That this was the practice can only be surmised from the adherence of imperial portraits to types, as no such workshop has yet been found in Rome. In fact, much less is known about the uses of imperial portraits in Rome than one would expect, for precise findspots and information on the original manner of display are known for only a few of the numerous imperial portraits found there. This is, for instance, the case with the portraits from the imperial palaces on the Palatine or the great imperial baths. This lack is, of course, attributable above all to the fact that most finds were made in a

* Although I was unable to participate in the conference "The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual," I eagerly accepted the editors' suggestion that I contribute an essay to this volume, as the collection of essays here represents an excellent forum in which to treat certain problems that have been discussed intensively in recent scholarship, most especially by American scholars. The limitations imposed by such a volume have necessarily led me to focus on but a few aspects of Roman portraiture and have made it necessary to cite in the footnotes only a selection of the most significant literature. I also wish to thank here Adam Stead for the English translation of my original German text.

period when scientific excavation was not yet standard practice. This is also unfortunately true of the particularly fruitful imperial villas in the vicinity of Rome: there is not yet so much as a plan for the villas of Antoninus Pius near Lanuvium or of Lucius Verus near Acquatraversa, where the highest-quality and best-preserved imperial busts have come to light. The precise location, manner, and context of display are not known for even one of the many portraits found at the Villa Hadriana. Thus, scholarly research on portraiture has been compelled from the beginning to take other areas of the Roman empire into account, areas where the state of preservation of the monuments was more favorable and where excavatory activity had begun later, so that more precise observations concerning find contexts became possible.

Examples of statue groups with the portraits of the emperors and their family members, so popular and widespread in the imperial period, have to this point only been found outside Rome; only these can offer some idea of what these groups actually looked like and how they were staged. Only in the provinces, above all in the Greek East, do we have material proof of portraits of members of the leading social classes; only here, then, can we get a sense of what their own self-representation looked like compared to that of the emperors. By contrast, among the portraits found in Rome not one from the second or third century AD has thus far been securely identified. Therefore, those wishing to deal with questions of the self-representation of the emperors and that of the various social groups in the imperial period must include the finds made outside of Rome in their investigations, even if, in this, the complex and thorny methodological problem arises of the degree to which observations made with regard to the provincial material can be carried over to the city of Rome.

Since it is now an unalterable fact that ancient statues have only very rarely been found together with the supporting bases that belonged to them, one does not at first know, as a rule, who is represented and when the work was created. Research on portraits thus had to develop methods to overcome this obstacle. Working with these methods is, however, time-consuming, whereby the much-desired collaboration between scholars of portraiture and epigraphers is impeded. That the former only make progress slowly can be attributed to the fact that there is no consensus among them concerning these methods and, as a consequence, much time is lost in proving false unfounded theses. The following essay attempts to identify these difficulties and to show how advances in the field of research on portraits can nonetheless be made.

Considerable advances have been made in the study of Roman portraits in the last thirty years.¹ This has particularly been the case with regard to portraits of emperors, princes, and female members of the imperial house. There is, however, still little consensus about both the aims of such inquiry and its methodology. Some insist that scholarship on Roman portraiture must rest on a body of definite rules, themselves nonetheless subject to revision, and that such a line of inquiry must proceed in an irreversible sequence of methodical steps.² Other scholars, by contrast, criticized the above method, claiming that it has been too inflexibly applied, that it affords few convincing results, and – above all – that it marginalizes other concerns for the sake of its own.³ While the former group of scholars has repeatedly and programmatically formulated its approach, demonstrating its applicability in numerous publications, it is not clear how the other approaches to Roman portraits proposed by the critics of the first group might be brought to bear on the material. In particular, this latter group of scholars has taken issue with the role that the typology of imperial portraits has played in research on portraiture. I do not entirely understand such criticisms.⁴ The observation that the bulk of Roman imperial portraits are not individual creations for which their subjects repeatedly modeled,⁵ but on the contrary depend on common models, or portrait types, and, further, that there are several such portrait types not only for emperors, but for princes and female members of the imperial family as well, is one of the most fundamental findings in the study of Roman portraiture. Indeed, it has enabled scholarship on portraiture to obtain, for the first time, the status of a scholarly discipline.⁶ Admittedly,

¹ For an overview of scholarship up to 1996, see Fittschen 1996a: 750 ff.

² Rather than list names, I refer the reader to Smith 1996: 31 ff., an “impartial” observer who offers still further references.

³ See, for example, Ridgeway 1986: 13, 22; Gazda-Haeckl 1993: 289 ff., especially 299 ff.; Bartman 1994: 340 ff.; Kleiner 1996: 797; Fejfer 1998: 45 ff.; Hannestad and Højte 2001: 196 ff.; Winkes 2002–03: 610 ff.; Rose 2003: 519. Most of these criticisms recapitulate those formulated by Ridgeway, who neither substantiated nor provided references for her wide-ranging criticism.

⁴ I have already expressed my incomprehension of these criticisms in Fittschen 1999: x, with n. 8. While Hannestad cited the corresponding sentences in his review of my book (Hannestad and Højte 2001: 197), he took, for his part, no clear position in the debate. His reading from my work that I am “tired of Roman portraits” is in no way an accurate summation; the following would be more accurate: “displeased with scholarship that continually relapses into old errors and is guided more by theoretical ideas than concrete observations.”

⁵ This is how Fredrik Poulsen, for instance, imagined the creation of portraits as late as 1939; see Poulsen 1939: 23, 25 ff.

⁶ The term “portrait type” was first used by J. J. Bernoulli, but only in the last volume of his basic work “*Römische Ikonographie*” (1882–94), and not yet systematically. As he wrote over a century ago, Bernoulli no longer plays a role in current scholarship. This does not mean that he should not be read, for his knowledge of the monuments was enormous and he was able to see several portraits that have since been lost. I cannot, however, understand Winkes’ observation

these discoveries were made as early as the 1930s;⁷ their fruitfulness, however, was only realized some forty years later, largely because earlier scholars either failed or were reluctant to pursue the consequences of their findings.⁸ The use of the extant portraits of Roman emperors and their family members as historical documents depends on the proper identification and dating of the portraits. Analysis of copies of imperial portraits (*Kopienkritik*) is thus an indispensable component of this type of research. Such analysis involves the comparison of all copies belonging to the same portrait type with each other in order to establish the most reliable ones, the “core group.” At this stage, it is also possible to determine the approximate date of the copies on the basis of style (and, if possible, according to other criteria, such as find-group and context). The chronological sequence and geographic distribution of a given portrait type, that is to say, its reception history, can then be gauged (on the dating of models, that is, the portrait types themselves, see below, pp. 228–32). Although most portraits of Roman emperors had already been properly identified by means of numismatic evidence before the “discovery” of the method of “Kopienrezension,” this is by no means true of all of them, and certainly not of the portraits of the imperial princes and many imperial women, the identification of which is still a matter of dispute.⁹ On the other hand, mere identification is, in itself, not sufficient.

that current scholarship, especially in Germany, still stands in “Bernoulli’s shadow” (Winkes 2002–03: 612), even if it attempts to “no longer regard Bernoulli’s aims as the ‘blue flower’ of scholarship on portraiture (611).” Some thirty years ago, I sketched out, in a manner hardly capable of miscomprehension, a set of tasks for research on portraiture, also indicating how publications, necessary for this enterprise, could be tailored to it (Fittschen 1978: 133 ff.; cf. Fejfer 1998: 45). Several subsequent publications have done justice to the desiderata I set forth, including the volumes from the “Römisches Herrscherbild” series. The only link between them and Bernoulli is their subject: portraits.

⁷ Fundamental in this regard is Brendel 1931. On this, too, see Curtius’ important note 1935: 269, n. 1: “Weil dieses methodische Prinzip bisher nicht eingesehen und durchgeführt ist, sind die Versuche zur römischen Ikonographie der frühen Kaiserzeit nur an wenigen Stellen über Bernoullis seinerzeit so verdienstvolle erste Sammlung des Materials hinausgekommen. Um ihm zum Durchbruch zu verhelfen, habe ich die Dissertation von O. Brendel . . . angeregt.”

⁸ This is especially observable in the works of Curtius. The success of the work of Wegner, who, with his volumes in the “Römisches Herrscherbild” series, dominated scholarship in the second and third quarters of the twentieth century, was repeatedly compromised by his strange search for the true appearance of the Roman emperors. On this, see Fittschen 1978: 133 ff. Gross’s book on Trajan was the first work to consistently apply the typological method, becoming the model for later works in this series. I therefore fail to comprehend why Winkes 1995 and Bartman 1999, in their publications on the iconography of Livia, ordered the extant portraits not according to types but – exactly like Bernoulli – according to their present location, and illustrated the works following the latter criterion. In this way, the sequence of types and their reception is unnecessarily obscured.

⁹ This is the case for many princes and female members of the Julio-Claudian family (Agrippa Postumus, Tiberius Gemellus, Britannicus among the former; Julia, Livilla, Messalina, Poppaea

Rather, it is necessary to know both the sequence in which the individual portrait types were made and the chronology of the copies. In the case of the emperor Augustus, at any rate, at least 200 years must be considered.

A recent publication on Julio-Claudian statue groups demonstrates what can occur when one does not consider the possible affiliations of portraits to imperial portrait types and when one proposes identifications without the aid of the copy-recension method.¹⁰ Not only is a portrait type, long presumed by scholarship to be that of Drusus the Elder¹¹ (now confirmed by the find-group from Rusellae),¹² related by the author of this work to one of Caligula's older brothers, but Drusus himself is recognized in a portrait¹³ of which there are (at present) no copies and that – on account of its less-than-ideal physiognomy – also does not belong to the group of portraits of the inner circle of the Julio-Claudian family, but rather represents a “private portrait” (see below, pp. 235–39).¹⁴ Rose thus ignores a phenomenon that, while it does not bear directly on the study of portraiture, is of immense importance for assessments of Roman imperial rule: namely, that portrait statues of private individuals could stand in the same place as statues of emperors and their families, perhaps even as part of one group.¹⁵ Here, then, it is a matter of “context” – an area of concern that proponents of the typological method are frequently reproached for neglecting.¹⁶ Rose commits the same mistake a second time, when he relates the portrait statue of L. Calpurnius Piso pontifex from the group from Velleia¹⁷ to another son of Germanicus and explains features that contradict such an identification as the result of the reworking of the head into a portrait of the emperor Nerva¹⁸ (with whose portraits there is not the slightest correspondence).¹⁹

The list of “breaches of the rules” in more recent scholarship could be extended, but I would like to concentrate here on but one further example

among the latter); the iconography of the young Domitian, and of the emperors of the year AD 193, moreover, has not yet been clarified.

¹⁰ Rose 1997: 66 ff., 83, cat. 5 no. 4 pls. 67–68.

¹¹ Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 27 ff. no. 22, with a list of copies; Boschung 2002: 86, no. 25.5 pl. 69.1.

¹² Boschung 2002: 69, no. 20.3 pl. 58.3.

¹³ Rose 1997: 63 ff., 83, cat. 5 no. 7 pls. 69–70; cf. Boschung 1998a: 527.

¹⁴ Boschung 2002: 86, no. 25.7 pl. 73.1.

¹⁵ The most famous example is the statue group from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus in Olympia.

¹⁶ Gazda-Haeckl 1993: 289 ff.; Fejfer 1998: 50 ff.; Fejfer 1999: 141 ff.; Fejfer intends to produce a monograph on the topic.

¹⁷ Boschung 2002: 25, no. 2.3 pl. 13.2, 15.1.

¹⁸ Rose 1997: 122, cat. 50 no. 10/16 pl. 132, 146–47; cf. Boschung 1998a: 527, n. 8.

¹⁹ As the portrait of Nerva, also reworked, in the same gallery indicates.

from my own area of expertise. Relatively recently, I identified an in-part wrongly restored colossal head in Holkham Hall (Fig. 8.1) as a portrait of Aelius Verus.²⁰ According to Hannestad, in contrast, the head is “obviously” a portrait of Aelius’ son Lucius Verus, “as clearly demonstrated by the hair-locks and the characteristic long corkscrew-like curls of the beard, divided by a central line” (Hannestad and Højte 2001: 202). Even a cursory glance at an example of the main portrait type of Lucius Verus (fig. 8.2) should make it apparent that the locks on the forehead of the colossal head do not correspond to those of Lucius Verus. The corkscrew locks of the beard belong to the restoration. Clearly, the restorer also believed that the portrait represented Lucius Verus, and reconstructed the head accordingly. In this instance, it is likewise a matter not only of typology, but also a problem of historical meaning: colossal statuary was not the exclusive privilege of the emperor, but could also be used for members of the imperial house.²¹ The colossal format was perhaps chosen in this case because Aelius had already died; this is suggested, in any case, by the early Antonine style of the head.

It must be acknowledged that the typological method is itself not immune to errors and cannot answer all questions satisfactorily. This is due in part to the poor state of preservation of the monuments or documentation of them, which is still insufficient, but also in part to the various circumstances under which the ancient portraits have been passed to our time. But it cannot be concluded from this that the analysis of copies (*Kopienkritik*) and the kind of investigation that this method entails are dispensable. In what follows, I can, for reasons of space, only address certain of the problematic areas that have been the subject of controversy in recent scholarship.

I. On the term “type”

The designation “portrait type” for the original image on which copies were based was introduced into scholarship on portraiture by Brendel (1931: 14 ff.). Brendel was of the opinion that such a term had not existed in antiquity. This view has been recently reiterated by Boschung.²² It should, however, probably be revised. On the shaft of a herm portrait of a certain Herennianos, found some years ago in Dion along with the remains of

²⁰ Fittschen 1999: 72 no. 3 pl. 116 a–b.

²¹ On this, see now the convincing interpretation of a colossal female clipeus portrait from the Forum of Trajan as a portrait of Trajan’s mother: Boschung and Eck 1998: 473 ff., figs. 1–3. The colossal head of Constantine the Great, recently found in the Forum of Trajan, was reworked from an older portrait, perhaps a representation of Trajan’s father.

²² Boschung 2002: 180: “Es ist klar, dass ‘Typus’ im Sinne der heutigen Porträtforschung kein antiker Terminus ist, sondern zunächst nur ein modernes Ordnungskriterium.”

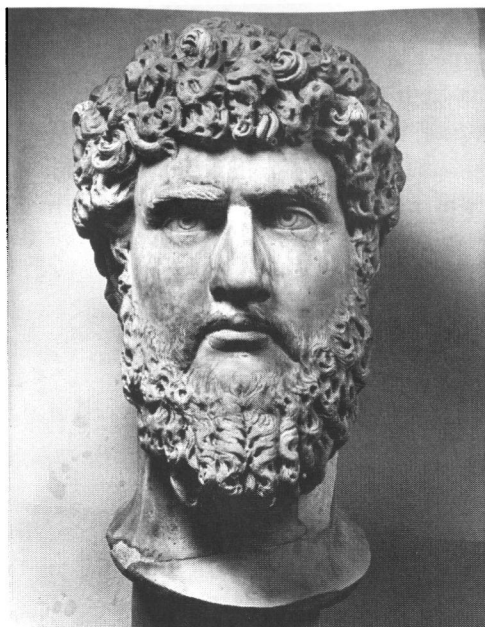


Fig. 8.1 Colossal portrait of Aelius Verus.

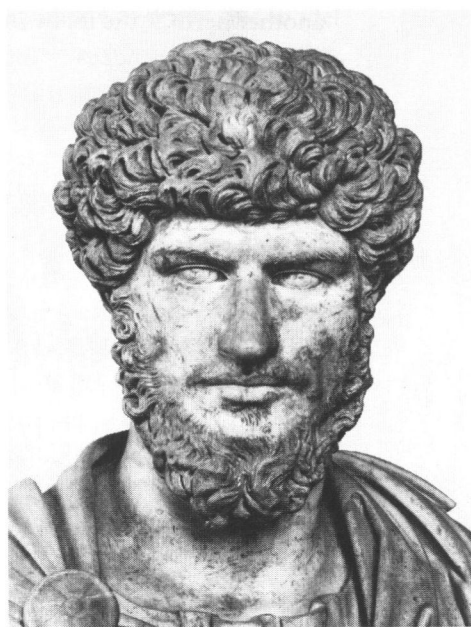


Fig. 8.2 Portrait of Lucius Verus, Rome.

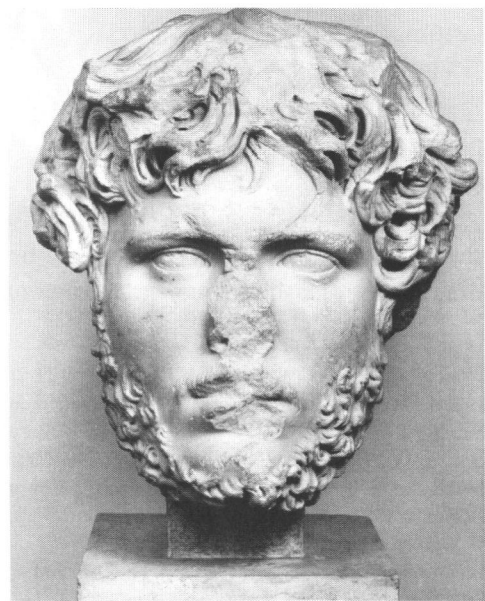


Fig. 8.3 Portrait of a man, Rome.

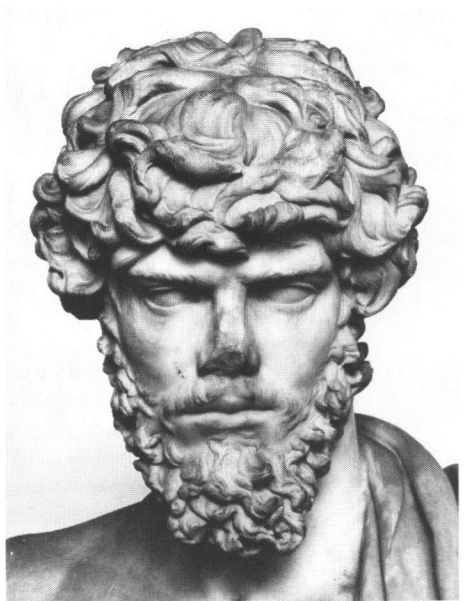


Fig. 8.4 Portrait of a man, Copenhagen.

another herm,²³ the following inscription is found: εἰς τύπος ἐν δοιοῖσι καὶ ἀμφοτέροις μία μορφή (“one type (*typos*) in both and in both one form (*morphē*)”). Clearly, in this instance it is a matter of a private portrait (see below, pp. 235–39) with two copies²⁴ which derive from the same portrait type and both made use of the format of the portrait herm. From this one may conclude that the sculptors of antiquity already designated the model for copies as a “type.”

II. On the dating and interpretation of imperial portrait types

After it had been recognized that there were several portrait types for almost all the emperors and their family members, and for some even rather many, questions began to be asked about the precise date of and the occasion for the creation of these types. Because there are no ancient sources bearing on these questions and the coinage is, in this respect, frequently quite unhelpful, the next available option was selected: individual portrait types were connected with particularly important dates in the life of an emperor, a prince, or an empress.²⁵ That a portrait type was created on the occasion of an emperor's assumption of rule, for example, requires no special explanation and is also confirmed in certain cases by the coinage.²⁶ There are, admittedly, exceptions to this rule.²⁷ The assumption of important offices (e.g., the consulate), the bestowal of particular titles (e.g., “Augustus,” *pater patriae*, etc.), military victories, and imperial anniversaries have been suggested as further occasions for the creation of portrait types. That the creation of the “Prima Porta” type for Augustus was connected with the conferral of the title Augustus in 27 BC is generally acknowledged in scholarship (cf. Boschung 1993a: 64 ff.). That the other events listed above also furnished occasions for the creation of portraits can be plausibly demonstrated in some

²³ Pandermalis 1999: 158, with illustrations; the head of the second herm has, unfortunately, not yet been found; cf. Voutiras 2002: 327, n. 29.

²⁴ Of course, this supposition may be questioned because we cannot know whether the missing head was actually a replica of the other one. But the existence of such replicas would not be an isolated phenomenon at Dion; see Pandermalis 1999: 148 ff., with illustrations.

²⁵ A method practiced in particular by M. Wegner and W. H. Gross.

²⁶ This can be very clearly recognized, for example, in the coinage of Trajan; cf. Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 39 ff., no. 39.

²⁷ On the occasion of Claudius' unanticipated accession to the imperial throne, recourse was made first to an older, preexisting portrait type (Boschung 1993b: 70); in the case of Commodus, a new portrait type was created only several months after his assumption of personal rule (Fittschen 1999: 66, nn. 347–49).

cases;²⁸ thus, it is, in my opinion, entirely legitimate to apply this model in the other, remaining cases. Admittedly, the evidence is often ambiguous, and, as a consequence, the approaches articulated in scholarship cannot be understood as established facts but rather as suggestions only, on which wider-ranging theories should not be founded. This observation is by no means new, as has been suggested (Fejfer 1998: 46 ff.), but instead was already present in some earlier work on portraiture.²⁹

Even when the precise dates of individual portrait types cannot be determined with certainty, their relative sequence can offer some orientation. In the case of imperial personages who were represented already as children, differences in age remove some of the difficulties.³⁰ This possibility, however, does not exist in most cases. If portraits on coins do not offer up clues, one must examine the stock of motifs in the different portrait types to determine if there is a sequence; for a new portrait type was not, of course, established without knowledge of one or several of the types that preceded it. Scholars have attempted to track this creative process by analyzing hairstyle in the portrait types of Trajan (cf. Fittschen 1997: 816 ff.). But this method is not free from subjective impressions and only rarely leads to definite results. Thus, for example, the question whether the so-called Forbes type of Augustus was created between the Alcudia and Prima Porta types, or only after the latter one, is still a matter of controversy.³¹ Moreover,

²⁸ Cf., for example, Marcus Aurelius, on the occasion of the conferral of the title of "Caesar" or his first consulate (Fittschen 1999: 31), or Commodus, in connection with the bestowal of the title *princeps iuventutis* (Fittschen 1999: 62).

²⁹ Thus Fittschen and Zanker 1985, who discussed the portraits of emperors of the first through third centuries, have documented in each case the basis for a portrait's dating and how binding are the occasions for its creation, as these have been proposed by scholars.

³⁰ Cf., for example, the portraits of Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, or Severus Alexander. In the case of these emperors, differences in age were rendered by means of a practice that has come to be a somewhat contested issue in the scholarship: an original portrait type was, within the space of a few years, modified to fit the age of the emperor in features such as the physiognomy and beard, without, however, changes being made to other aspects of the original portrait type, such as hairstyles. Bergmann, the first to describe this phenomenon (1978: 40), has characterized it as a sort of "new edition" of the portrait type. Boschung 2005: 540 has suggested that these "new editions" be regarded as independent types, since they indeed presuppose in each instance a model that was authorized and modified by the imperial administration. This is certainly acceptable, so long as it is at the same time made expressly clear that this kind of portrait type thus differs fundamentally from the portrait types of emperors and princes as we otherwise know them (for instance, the portraits made for Lucius Verus, Caracalla, and Geta while adolescents) and that these instances represent a decision to do without, at every turn, a completely newly conceived portrait type.

³¹ Boschung 1993b: 63 ff. has very decidedly argued for the first case; for the latter view, see, most recently, Hölischer 2002a: 251. This question could probably only be resolved with certainty through a copy that, on the basis of non-stylistic criteria (inclusion in a statue group, for example), would date to before 27 BC.

the observation that the Tivoli type of Caracalla did not emerge before the widespread portrait type of Caracalla as sole ruler, as the physiognomy would lead one to believe, but only after it, could only be made with the assistance of numismatic portraits.³²

As with the dates of the various portrait types, proposals about relative sequences will often very likely remain proposals. The difficult situation regarding the circumstances of the survival of ancient portraits into our time must be accepted. But scholars will have to continue, when faced with newly discovered monuments or improved documentation of those already known, to reappraise previous suggestions.

Only a few imperial portrait types can, on account of their sheer visual novelty, be read as programmatic statements. The Prima Porta type of Augustus (above, p. 228) or the Adoption type of Septimius Severus³³ are among the most concrete examples. By contrast, the portrait types of most emperors are so minimally differentiated from each other that they can hardly be regarded as the visual manifestations of specific intentions.³⁴ This is especially true of the portrait types of Hadrian, which can only be differentiated by specialists (even ancient copyists appear to have had their own problems in this regard; see below, pp. 235–36). Some scholars have thus presumed that portrait types were not commissioned by the emperor (or the imperial administration) to mark certain occasions, but instead were made in various competing workshops without reference to particular events.³⁵ As we know nothing about these workshops and the relationships between them and the emperor (see below, pp. 234–36), such considerations cannot be rejected outright. They are, however, still only speculative.

³² Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 110 ff., no. 94.

³³ McCann 1968: 101 ff.; Soechting 1972: 41 ff.

³⁴ Some kind of system obviously underlies the variations, so confusing at first sight, between the fork (*Gabel*) and pincer (*Zange*) motifs found in the hairstyles of the portraits of the emperors and princes of the Julio-Claudian family; this system, furthermore, served to identify both the subjects of the portraits as members of this family and their position, at that moment, in the familial hierarchy, as Boschung 1993b: 39 ff. and 2002: 180 ff. has convincingly demonstrated.

³⁵ Fejfer 1997: 14 ff. (= Fejfer 1998: 47 ff.). While the examples she presents point up our insufficient knowledge, they do not constitute grounds for dismissing the supposition that portraits might have been connected to specific events. It cannot, in fact, be determined definitively if the portrait type for Severus Alexander, for example, was first made at the beginning of his reign (222) or already at the time of his adoption by Elagabalus (211) (Fejfer 1998: 48), but in each case we are dealing with a concrete occasion. This is also true of the other cases detailed by Fejfer.

There is, however, one example for which it can be proven that portrait types were actually commissioned to mark specific and datable occasions, apparently even by the emperor himself. I am referring to the various portrait types of Faustina the Younger, a stroke of luck for our understanding of imperial portraiture.³⁶ Coins reproduce various portrait types of Faustina that can be differentiated on the basis of hairstyle; the sequence of the portrait types can be established through inscriptions on the coins, and their exact dates deduced from the subjects presented on the reverses. In several cases it is unmistakably clear that the change in hairstyle is linked up with the birth of a child to Faustina. The makers of coins themselves did not, of course, happen upon the idea of announcing and celebrating the birth of an imperial child on the coins they produced: this can only have been occasioned by the party with the greatest interest in the imperial offspring – namely the ruling emperor, the child's grandfather. The changing portrait types of Faustina clearly served to put additional emphasis on these joyous events. This reading has been subjected to criticism on various occasions, most recently by Alexandridis (2004). I fail to see, however, how we are to make progress by casting doubt on the correctness of this thesis without providing any necessary reasons or presenting more plausible alternatives. That the creation of different portrait types for other empresses who did not have children cannot be explained with this paradigm should not, at any rate, be taken as counterevidence. These cases require further efforts at explanation.³⁷

Thus the assumption that precise occasions formed the basis for all portrait types of Roman emperors and their family members still appears to me a feasible frame for interpretation. Portrait types without a recognizable "programmatic statement" might have functioned above all to draw attention, visually, to events considered important by their patrons. That the changing imperial portrait types were thoroughly perceived by ordinary Romans is suggested by portraits of citizens, which were modeled on the different portrait types of a given emperor (see below, pp. 235–39).³⁸ The assumption that portrait types were created to mark certain occasions still remains valid when it is acknowledged that, alongside the newer portrait types, older types continued to be spread in the form of copies. Except

³⁶ Fittschen 1982: 17 ff.; Fittschen 1999: 2 ff.

³⁷ This applies, for example, to Sabina, Faustina maior, Crispina, and Plautilla.

³⁸ I have attempted to show this on the example of Hadrian's portrait types and the imitations of them by private individuals: Fittschen 1996b: 445 ff.; cf. Fittschen 1999: 78 ff. (on imitations of the portrait types of the Antonine princes).

in the case of adolescent princes or emperors (see above, p. 229), old portrait types did not lose their validity,³⁹ with the consequence that, over the course of an emperor's rule, an ever-increasing selection of portrait types was available to patrons. It is, admittedly, unlikely that they always knew when and for which occasion particular portrait types had been developed.

III. "Unique pieces" (*"Einzelstücke"*)

Portraits that bear similarities to the portraits of emperors and their family members but that otherwise cannot be recognized as copies according to the established body of portrait types have played a significant role in scholarship on Roman portraiture. Wegner even saw among these "unique pieces" (*Einzelstücke*) creations of particular authenticity (1956: 26 ff.). However, as there is also an abundance of portraits of private individuals that are in appearance very similar to those of emperors, princes, and empresses, in these cases the following rule *must* be observed: if it is not possible to determine whether a portrait represents a certain emperor, either through evidence afforded by inscriptions found with the portrait or through concrete physiognomic features that would link it to a given emperor (such as Hadrian's characteristic earlobe),⁴⁰ then an identification cannot be made. I have tried to demonstrate this elsewhere on the basis of various examples.⁴¹ A fragmentary head in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Fig. 8.3), for instance, is still regarded by some scholars as a portrait of Lucius Verus.⁴² It remains for the adherents of this view to prove their case, but as it is, the evidence, such as that afforded by comparison with securely identified portraits of the emperor, seemingly does not suffice for this identification.

Riccardi 2000 has recently studied portraits of Trajan and Hadrian from the Greek East, which she suggests can only with difficulty be reconciled with the portrait types of these emperors from the imperial capital and – she thus argues – should be regarded as particular and provincial forms of the imperial portrait. Riccardi's arguments are not entirely convincing, however: for not one of the portraits discussed by her (which can, moreover,

³⁹ Copies after the portrait types of Augustus prove this, although precisely these portrait types had been designed to carry different messages.

⁴⁰ Wegner 1956: 92, 104; Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 44 ff., no. 46, n. 2. It is exactly for this reason that the bust in Athens mentioned in n. 44 below cannot be proved to be a portrait of Hadrian.

⁴¹ Fittschen 1971: 214 ff.; 1992: 115 ff.; 2000: 507 ff.; cf. Smith 1998: 33.

⁴² Giuliano 1979: 316 ff., no. 188 (V. Picciotti Giornetti).

actually be linked with either of the two emperors) was made without knowledge of portrait types in Rome, as can be seen in the recurrence in the eastern portraits of features such as particular types of hair curls.⁴³

The over-life-size portrait of Trajan from Pergamon, now in Berlin, which cannot be regarded as provincial in origin and certainly not as provincial in quality (Riccardi 2000: 122, figs. 18–19), is actually a very faithful copy of some quality of the so-called Decennial type of this emperor.⁴⁴ Yet another over-life-size portrait, a head in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens, which Riccardi chose as her starting point (2000: 105 ff., figs. 1–2), belongs to that group of portraits about which, at least at present, no decision can be made. If it is a portrait of Trajan, then it would have to be assigned to the so-called *corona civica* type (*Bürgerkronen-Typus*) (Fittschen 1997: 816). However, on account of the physiognomy, which diverges considerably from that of Trajan, the possibility that the head is a private portrait based on an imperial model is not out of the question. Neither the large format nor the oak crown argue against this possibility, for, as Massner has convincingly shown, in Greece the presence of the oak crown in a portrait is not a reliable indicator that it is an image of the emperor.⁴⁵ Doubtless these copies from the provinces, differing as they often do in conspicuous ways from the official portrait types, need explanation; the explanation can only be found, however, if at all, in the workshops. But it is beyond the scope of this essay to

⁴³ That individual portraits are ascribed to different portrait types by modern scholarship does not permit the conclusion, as Riccardi suggests, that the official portrait types in Rome were unknown to provincial sculptors. The uncertainty stems rather from the poor state of preservation and insufficient documentation of the portraits. On the phenomenon of combinations in a portrait of multiple features gleaned from different portrait types (*"Bildnisklitterungen"*), see below, p. 235. It is known from ancient textual sources that there were "dissimilar" imperial portraits (Riccardi 2000: 115 ff.). To my knowledge, no portrait of this kind has yet been found that is authenticated through an associated inscription. For the time being, then, we are not in a position to judge just how large the divide actually was between these portraits and the official portrait types and whether in these cases we are not merely dealing with rededications of older, unmodified statues.

⁴⁴ Gross 1940: 177, no. 26. The insertable head (*Einsatzkopf*) from the Agora (Riccardi 2000: 124 ff., figs. 20–21) belongs to the Ostia cuirass-statue type; cf. Fittschen 1997: 817. The oft-discussed bust (Riccardi 2000: 126, fig. 22), found near the Olympieion in Athens, is not a portrait of Hadrian but rather a private portrait modeled on Hadrian's portraits (Fittschen 1996b: 450 ff., fig. 6, 1–2; Smith 1998: 58, n. 8 pl. 3, 4).

⁴⁵ Massner 1988: 239 ff.; Riccardi 2000: 106, n. 5 gave too little importance to Massner's argument. The dimensions (height from chin to top of head c. 32 cm) and the inlaid eyes are not proof that this was an imperial portrait. The insertable head from the cryptoporticus of the Temple of Domitian in Ephesus (Riccardi 2000: 122, figs. 15–17) cannot be attached, in fact, to any of Trajan's known portrait types; likewise, its divergent hairstyle cannot be explained as a result of a reworking of the head from a portrait of Domitian. Why can a private portrait not have been recovered in the cryptoporticus? The piece is perhaps better left unidentified.

investigate and analyze further these “unique pieces” of imperial portraiture and their relationships to each of the other portrait types.

IV. Workshop questions

We know nothing about the workshops that produced portraits of emperors and their families, or, for that matter, those of private individuals.⁴⁶ We know not one of the artists who designed the portrait types and nothing about the organization of the workshops in Rome and the provinces where the copies were made or their relationship to the emperor and “court sculptor.” Our only source is the portraits themselves. An image of how the workshops might have been organized can perhaps be gleaned from the workshops of Neo-Classical sculptors, who in their own age reanimated the process of copying.⁴⁷

From the fact that there are copies of the same portrait type that were attached to different supports (statues and busts of different genres) and are sometimes provided with specific attributes (a laurel crown, for example), it must be concluded that the portrait type (the original design, the model for all copies) consisted, as a rule, simply of the head.⁴⁸ Whether this original, perhaps in plaster or clay, ever left its designer’s workshop cannot be known. The emperor perhaps kept only a particularly good exemplar, the “first copy.”

The circumstances under which the copies were produced, on the other hand, were determined only by those who commissioned them. It is uncertain whether the divergences of many copies from the official models lay in the discretion of the copyists, or whether patrons themselves exerted influence in this regard; the latter was certainly the case whenever the potential cost of the copies was an issue.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ In some cases it can be proved that imperial portraits and those of private individuals were made in the same workshops (cf. Fittschen 2001: 71 ff.); C. Evers has examined this subject in an as yet unpublished work.

⁴⁷ In the ateliers of Canova and Thorvaldsen the production of marble copies after clay and plaster models was the usual practice; cf., too, the production and distribution by the workshop of Antoine-Denis Chaudet of 1,500 busts of Napoleon in only three years (1809–12) (Friedländer 1920: 64).

⁴⁸ Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 107, no. 91; 109, no. 93; Fittschen *et al.* 1986: 21.

⁴⁹ This may be, presumably, an explanation as to why the hair in Antonine imperial portraits is sometimes drilled with the same care on all four sides, even though the drill work is mostly confined to the front half of the head: the latter measure was certainly more economical (cf. Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 71, no. 66; 80, no. 73).

Several possible reasons can be posited for the divergences: insufficient or incomplete models (simple drawings, for example); persistent traditions for portraiture in separate artistic regions within the empire; or simply inadequate sculptural ability and skill. The latter is especially apparent in those portraits reworked from older imperial portraits.⁵⁰ Much more difficult to explain is the commingling in portraits of motifs from the various portrait types of the same individual (*Bildnisklitterungen*), a phenomenon already observable in the reign of Augustus – that is, at the beginning of the practice of making copies of portraits.⁵¹ Even more mysterious are those portraits of emperors that display motifs from the portraits of other emperors without offering evidence of having been reworked.⁵² No explanation has been found for either of the latter two phenomena. This is, in my opinion, also due to the insufficient documentation of many of the monuments (see below, p. 241).⁵³

Repeated attempts have been made to differentiate between copying workshops.⁵⁴ In the case of portraits of Septimius Severus the attempt, it seems to me, has failed. This is complicated not only by the insufficient photographic coverage of the relevant portraits, but also by the fact that most of the portrait copies of this particular emperor are of middling quality; we are dealing here, certainly not coincidentally, with mass-production. The survivals from the second century present a much better opportunity. But even here publications on this issue still set certain limits: Evers' detailed observations on the portraits of Hadrian are, for instance, often incomprehensible vis-à-vis her illustrations (cf. Boschung 1998b: 651). But progress could still be made in this area through persistent questioning of the monuments and improved documentation.

V. The imperial portrait and Roman private portraits

The relationship between imperial portraiture and private portraiture is a particularly fruitful area of inquiry. The term "private portrait" used

⁵⁰ Varner 2004, with the older literature.

⁵¹ And especially frequent in the portraits of Hadrian (cf. Evers 1994: 267 ff., with the older literature).

⁵² Fittschen 2005: 43 ff., with a summary of the various observations that have been made to this point.

⁵³ Details of this kind can only be presented when the portraits are illustrated with views of all four sides. If scholarship is to take seriously its claims to investigate workshops, then it must also attend to such details.

⁵⁴ Soechting 1972; Evers 1994: 295 ff.; separate suggestions in Fittschen and Zanker 1985 and Fittschen 1999; and see now Albertson 2005: 259 ff.

here should be understood as encompassing portraits that do not represent emperors or the members of their immediate family (Fittschen 1996a: 755 ff.). The seemingly endless debate over the designation “private portrait” seems to me unnecessary.⁵⁵ This term, while capable of being misunderstood, is nonetheless not without a certain usefulness. It is not possible to divide Roman portraits according to the criteria “public” or “private,” for, in the majority of cases, the precise find spot is not known. Moreover, those portraits with a secure archaeological provenance prove that the same portrait types were used in both realms (the only recognizable difference being that the bust-length portrait copies from imperial villas are, as a rule, of higher quality). Otherwise, in a monarchical regime such as that of Rome, the same option was available to all citizens, whether aristocrat or freedman: to choose to appear in a portrait like the ruling emperor or, alternatively, not to do so. Scholarship has to this point almost completely ignored the latter possibility (see below, p. 237–38).

“Assimilated portraiture” (“*Bildnisangleichung*”) and the “period face” (“*Zeitgesicht*”)

The imitation of imperial portraits in private portraiture was a common occurrence.⁵⁶ The most conspicuous manifestation of this phenomenon is the adoption of imperial hairstyles. But private portraits also sought to accord with imperial physiognomies. These types of visual assimilation could be pursued to very different degrees. Often, imitation is limited to a single visual citation, but sometimes it is pushed much further, with the result that in some cases it can be difficult to decide if one is dealing with a private or imperial portrait. This phenomenon first appears in the time of Julius Caesar, and can be traced until the end of the third century. Concerning the imitation of imperial coiffures, one could see them as the visual manifestation of current “fashions,” a phenomenon which has parallels in the history of modern portraiture. The adoption in private portraiture of the physical appearance of various emperors, however, points to a deeper, more profound connection with the emperor. The patrons of such portraits

⁵⁵ Gazda-Haackl 1993: 295 ff., nn. 20, 23; Fejfer 1999: 137 ff.; in addition, Fittschen 2000: 508, n. 11. The singularity of private portraits does not, of course, consist in their not having been replicated, as has been suggested (Fejfer 1999: 138). We know of many private portraits with replicas, from both the private (Herodes Atticus!) and public spheres (see, for example, nn. 23–24).

⁵⁶ See, for example, Zanker 1982: 307 ff.; Smith 1998: 61 ff.; Fittschen 1999.

sought to make it known that they regarded the emperor as their model, announcing, by means of the portrait, their loyalty to him.⁵⁷ This line of interpretation can likewise be pursued when dealing with those portraits that are *not* based on, or intended to evoke, imperial portraits (see below).

Scholarship has long made use of the phenomenon of imitative private portraiture for the purpose of dating Roman portraits: portraits made in imitation of imperial models are seen as particularly easy to date. But here caution is necessary.

The term “period face” (*Zeitgesicht*) exists in a somewhat competitive relationship with the designation “assimilated portraiture” (*Bildnisangleichung*). Primarily introduced into scholarship by Zanker (1982: 307 ff.), the term has quickly found acceptance. It is not entirely clear, however, what exactly the term means. Zanker, at any rate, suggests that it is not always coextensive or identical with “imitative private portraiture” (*Bildnisangleichung*).⁵⁸ Rather, the term should be used to describe the prevailing types of appearance and expressive values (*Ausdruckswerte*) of all portraits in a specific, delineated period of time. The imperial portrait itself is not independent of the “period face,” but it can establish new directions for portraiture.⁵⁹ According to Zanker, the “period face” amounts to something more than the conscious imitation of imperial portraiture; for his “period face” is not driven by any one agent, and corresponds, rather, with what used to be known as “period style.” Zanker has also acknowledged that the “period face” can persist for several generations,⁶⁰ but the term thus naturally loses considerably its potential for questions of dating and interpretation. The term has been subjected repeatedly to criticism for this very reason,⁶¹ but also because it does not do justice to the variety of portrait forms within a single period.⁶² I have attempted to highlight, using private portraits from the reign of Hadrian, the range of different possibilities that actually existed at that time.⁶³ This period lends itself particularly well to

⁵⁷ Zanker 1982: 309; Fittschen 1999: 106 ff.; for a different interpretation, Smith 1998: 92.

⁵⁸ Zanker 1982: 310, right col. The term “period face”, however, is often, in the scholarship following Zanker, equated with the concept “imitative private portraiture” (*Bildnisangleichung*). The double meaning becomes clear when, for example, Smith 1998: 87 speaks of a “loyal period-face”; is a “disloyal period face” also possible?

⁵⁹ Zanker 1982: 310 ff.; similarly, Smith 1998: 92. ⁶⁰ Zanker 1982: 311, lower right col.

⁶¹ See, for example, Smith 1998: 59 ff.; Hallett 2004: 498; D’Ambra 2005: 203 ff.

⁶² Fittschen 1996a: 755 ff.; Fittschen 1996b: 445 ff.; Smith 1998: 59 ff., 91 ff.

⁶³ Fittschen 1996b: 445 ff.; additionally, Smith 1998: 56 ff., esp. 92; Smith puts the examples I discuss in the early and middle Antonine period, without, I believe, offering sufficient justification; exact chronology in this context, however, is not of decisive importance.

such an inquiry, because, on account of certain “antiquarian innovations” (such as bust forms, base forms, the drilling of pupils, the temporary coexistence of shaved and bearded faces), it is possible to date the portraits without recourse to style and imitative practices (*Imitationsverhalten*). Particularly conspicuous are the portraits with realistic features, which clearly contrast with contemporary currents in court portraits. It is still uncertain whether this can be attributed to a conscious desire to draw on the portrait forms of the late Republic, or if these portraits represent the continuation of a preexisting conception of portraits. According to the dominant line of thought, the production of realistic portraits ceases in the early years of the reign of Augustus, and is only later revived under the Flavians. However, I believe we must determine whether realistic portraits in the intervening period are not known only because we have at our disposal no firmly dated private portraits for this period, but only the non-realistic portraits of emperors and princes. Such questions may only be answered through wide-ranging inquiries that would make available to scholars the large number of previously neglected non-imperial portraits.

The difficulties that exist in dating individual portraits using the “period face” (and the same applies for the whole phenomenon of “imitative private portraiture”) become especially clear if one includes the portraiture from the imperial period produced in the Greek East.⁶⁴ Two examples must suffice here. I have elsewhere drawn attention to the herm portrait of the Athenian cosmète Heliodoros,⁶⁵ which is firmly dated on the basis of its inscription to the reign of Trajan.⁶⁶ The portrait of Heliodoros is so similar to the portraits of Vespasian that one would almost mistake it for the latter, who at that time had already been dead for some thirty years; without the inscription, the portrait would certainly have been assigned a date in the Flavian period. We do not know if the similarity is the result of chance alone, or if the patron intended to express some connection with Vespasian.

An unidentified portrait of a cosmète erected under the archon Kassianos in the year of the twenty-ninth Panathenaic games has been dated to AD

⁶⁴ The particular situation in Greece has been pointed out repeatedly in recent scholarship. See, for example, Smith 1998: 57 ff.; Danguillier 2001; Krumeich 2004: 132 ff.; D'Ambra 2005: 201 ff. Unfortunately, there is still nothing like a catalogue-style documentation of the imperial period portraits found in Greece, which far outnumber those from Asia Minor.

⁶⁵ Fittschen 1996a: 756, with figs. 986–87; see now Krumeich 2004: 139 ff., n. 42; D'Ambra 2005: 203 ff., fig. 17.1–2.

⁶⁶ Graindor 1915: 292, no. 2 fig. 10. According to the inscription, the herm dates sometime between AD 113 and 122; cf. Krumeich 2004: 139, n. 41, with further references.

238–39 by Graindor.⁶⁷ As the style of the portrait has nothing in common with the portrait-style current under Gordian III, I attempted to date it earlier, believing that a new, earlier date for the inscription supported an earlier date for the portrait (Fittschen 1969: 230 ff.). This has since proven to be incorrect. Newly discovered inscriptions indicate that the portrait must have been made in AD 231–32.⁶⁸ Indeed, the portrait of the cosmete Heliodoros has, likewise, nothing to do with the style of the reign of Severus Alexander. The portrait's difference is clearly only attributable to the fact that it is not oriented toward contemporary models but rather toward those of the great Greek past, in this instance the portraits of Aischines or Theophrastos. Zanker, for his part, detected this connection, but dated the portrait, according to the “period face” and without considering the inscription, to the second quarter of the second century, that is, to the Hadrianic or early Antonine period.⁶⁹

The phenomena of private portraits modeled on imperial portraits (*Bild-nisangleichung*) and the “period face” must, therefore, be used with caution as criteria for the dating of Roman portraits. Precise dates run the risk of error; in contrast, broader dates – up to a generation, for instance – do more justice to our present level of knowledge.

Private portraits as models for imperial portraits

Imperial portraits did not simply exert influence on private portraiture: private portraits, in turn, could influence imperial images. Certainly the best-known example is Hadrian's beard, about which a great deal has been written.⁷⁰ It is indeed correct that the long series of bearded emperors begins with Hadrian, a series that stretches to the Tetrarchy. This fashion, however, was no invention of Hadrian: for the short-trimmed beard is already observable in multiple private portraits made before his reign. It even appears that the fashion for beards, which reemerged in the first century BC, never actually disappeared; princes of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian houses – indeed, even the emperors Nero and Titus – had themselves represented with beards of this type. The short-cut beard seems to have been

⁶⁷ Graindor 1915: 340, no. 20 fig. 24.

⁶⁸ Cf. Follet 1976: 287, 331 ff., 504; Krumeich 2004: 114, n. 61.

⁶⁹ Zanker 1995: 209 ff., fig. 117; Krumeich 2004: 144, figs. 17–20 compares it with the portrait of Aischines; he also offers further examples of such imitations in portraits of cosmetai.

⁷⁰ Cf. Zanker 1995: 206 ff.; additionally, Fischer-Bossert 2001: 149 ff., with further references; D'Ambra 2005: 201 ff., esp. 213 ff.

especially popular among younger men and soldiers. Hadrian, then, simply let grow the beard that he had already worn before his assumption of rule.⁷¹

The longer beard, too, with which – first among the ruling emperors – Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus had themselves portrayed, occurs earlier in private portraits, not only in the portraits of Greek “intellectuals”⁷² (thus putting them in the older Greek tradition), but also in those of Roman citizens. An interesting example is the head on a large bust in Copenhagen, found, apparently, on the Aventine Hill (fig. 8.4).⁷³ It looks startlingly similar to Lucius Verus as we know him in his main portrait type (Fig. 8.2), but cannot be a representation of the emperor, for the head, to judge from the rendering of the hair, was definitely made in the Hadrianic period, and likely, on account of the absence of the characteristic drilled pupils, in the early years of Hadrian’s reign. This similarity has led Hannestad to identify the portrait as an image of Aelius Verus, Lucius’ biological father, who he argues is presented while still a private citizen, that is, before his later adoption by Hadrian.⁷⁴ This identification, however, seems to me unlikely, as there is nothing in this portrait that is similar to the portraits of Aelius Verus (see fig. 8.1). Rather, this portrait indicates that the elegant appearance of a man with richly articulated hair and beard, embodied in a particularly striking way in the portraits of Lucius Verus, already appeared a generation earlier.⁷⁵

The so-called “Serapis curls” of the Serapis portrait type of Septimius Severus also occur earlier in private portraits.⁷⁶

Nor, lastly, can realism, which is especially characteristic of the portraits of adult emperors from the reign of Caracalla on, be regarded as an imperial innovation. The same realistic forms of expression had also already featured in private portraits.⁷⁷ As suggested above, the possibility of more realistic modes of representation may perhaps have existed throughout the entire imperial period. The same is also clearly true of short hair, which, also beginning with Caracalla, came to permeate the imperial portrait, but which

⁷¹ This is confirmed by the $\Delta\alpha$ portrait type of Hadrian, already developed during the reign of Trajan; cf. Bergmann 1997: 143 ff.; Fischer-Bossert 2001: 151.

⁷² Cf. the portrait of Theon from Smyrna in the Museo Capitolino: Zanker 1995: 227, fig. 133.

⁷³ See Johansen 1995: 222 ff., no. 91, with ill.; on the dating, Bergmann 1981: 183, no. 92 (“das älteste erhaltene römische Porträt mit langer Barttracht”); see, too, Smith 1998: 60 ff.

⁷⁴ Hannestad 1974: 80 ff., 92, no. 16 pl. 18 a–b.

⁷⁵ Zanker 1995: 226, fig. 132 sees in the head an early example of the “unkempt intellectual.” The artfully draped curls, however, like soft ice-cream in their appearance, correspond thoroughly with a widespread Hadrianic hairstyle.

⁷⁶ On this, see, most recently, Raeder 1992: 179 ff., n. 27.

⁷⁷ See Fittschen 1980: 107 ff., esp. 112 ff., with references.

had already made its appearance in portraits of the second century AD (Bergmann 1982: 145).

Imperial and non-imperial portraits clearly stand in a dialectical relationship – one which should be more thoroughly examined.

VI. Conclusion

The portraits of Roman emperors and their families still offer sufficient material for further study. This is even truer when one includes in the discussion the supports of portraits and their various functions, a facet of Roman portraiture that I did not address here because the supports are only indirectly related to the portraits (that is, to the heads). I have attempted to show that substantiated results, capable of revision, can only be produced if certain rules, which are appropriate to the object itself, are observed. However, by far the most important requisite for future progress in the field consists, in my opinion, in the continuation and, as far as possible, intensification of the practice of presenting and making accessible the monuments. I have outlined the importance of this several times before,⁷⁸ but I do not have the impression that the appeal has been heeded by all scholars of Roman portraiture. There are, in my opinion, too many publications that illustrate the monuments without the necessary level of comprehensiveness, or that only present the most-reproduced aspects.⁷⁹ It certainly cannot be disputed that it is, above all, the improved documentation of the monuments that has enabled scholarship on portraiture in the last thirty years to make the remarkable advances it has. It would be regrettable indeed if this impetus were to come to an end. But the present situation, as Borbein, Hölscher, and Zanker have likely correctly observed (2000: 17), is moving precisely in this direction. I am saddened by the fact that they now declare their consent with the demands of our society and of the present generation of scholars, who are shaped by this society, instead of defending and propagating the cause of those foundational scholars on whose fundamental work we all draw.

⁷⁸ See especially Fittschen 1978: 134 ff.; but see, too, Smith 1998: 92.

⁷⁹ I have elsewhere pointed out that portraits must be photographed and documented in such a way that they are useful for scholarly research. I would not have needed to make this suggestion again were the demand not repeatedly made that Roman portraits be documented visually as they were seen in antiquity, namely from below (Bartman 1994: 343; most recently, Winkes 2002–03: 610).



Fig. 8.5 Portrait of Antinous (version B), Naples.

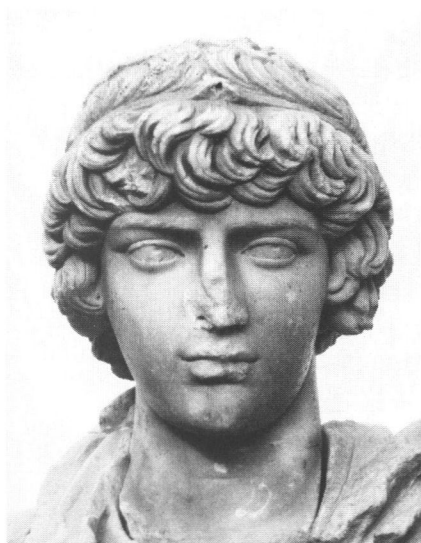


Fig. 8.6 Portrait of a young man, Olympia.

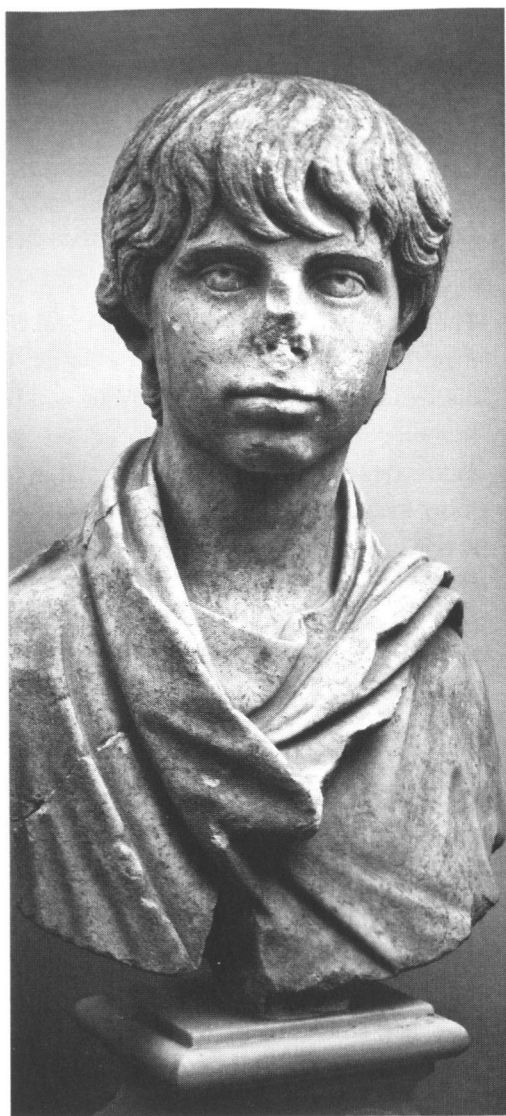


Fig. 8.7 Portrait of Polydeukion, Athens.



Fig. 8.8 Portrait of Antinous (version B), Naples.



Fig. 8.10 Portrait of Polydeukion, Athens.



Fig. 8.9 Portrait of a young man, Olympia.

Appendix

"Antinoos, archaeology and history": on a recent essay

Caroline Vout⁸⁰ has recently published reflections on the portraits of Antinoos under the above title. In what follows, I would like to address, with her essay serving as an example, what I see as some problematic aspects of more recent approaches to portraiture.

Vout's essay seems to me not to have a concrete problematic or a clear-cut aim, its structure suggesting rather that the author is guided by ideas born of a spirit of contradictoriness.⁸¹ The basis for her remarks is Hugo Meyer's book on the portraits of Antinoos,⁸² whose collection of materials she designates as the "corpus." She neither notes the methodological deficiencies of this book, nor does she acknowledge the criticism⁸³ that has already been directed towards it.

First, however, a short summary of the present state of research on the portraits of Antinoos. There is only one portrait type of Antinoos, which survives in numerous copies, some of which are of very high quality. The portrait type can be divided, on the basis of the arrangement of the forehead curls, into at least two groups with different paths of transmission (Variants A and B, fig. 8.5), the genesis of which has not yet been explained but is probably to be sought in the copying workshops. The type is easily recognized by the hairstyle and the characteristic forms of the mouth and brow that determine the facial expression. The Egyptian-style portraits are also ascribable to this type because they display the same physiognomy.⁸⁴ The conspicuous divergences that they present (frontality, the cap of Nemes) belong to the elements that copyists were able to devise freely (see above, p. 235). That this is an acceptable proposition is proved by a portrait in the Louvre,⁸⁵ in which locks of hair are represented – contrary to Egyptian practice – under the "cap of Nemes." These locks, moreover, mirror precisely the hairstyle of portraits of Antinoos (Variant A).

In my view, the "secondary type" (*Nebentypus*) proposed by Meyer⁸⁶ does not exist. The examples he offers in this regard are in part variants by copyists of the portrait type described above, and in part portraits of other individuals (see below).

It is unclear whether the so-called Antinoos Mondragone and the heads attached to this piece⁸⁷ can be viewed as portraits of Antinoos (as an historical person): although the form of the mouth and brow in these portraits accords with that

⁸⁰ Vout 2005: 80 ff.

⁸¹ This is not the type of criticism which is indispensable for the development of knowledge. I have limited my treatment to but a few examples, but they should suffice to characterize my view of the tenor and nature of such argumentations.

⁸² Meyer 1991; this work should nonetheless be credited for offering the most comprehensive assemblage of the material to this point.

⁸³ Goette 1998: 27 ff.

⁸⁴ Meyer 1991: 119 ff. cat. IV pls. 105–08. ⁸⁵ Meyer 1991: 120 f. cat. IV 2 pl. 106.

⁸⁶ Meyer 1991: 101 ff. cat. II 1–5 pls. 91–98; see, too, Goette 1998: 40 ff.

⁸⁷ Meyer 1991: 111 ff. cat. III 1–6 pls. 99–104.

typical in portraits of Antinoos, the heads do not display contemporary hairstyles but rather ones that are oriented towards images of Greek gods and, in this way, differ clearly from the portraits of Antinoos with divine attributes (Hermes' wings or foliate crowns, for example). They all come from the Villa Hadriana and presumably owe their origins to the particular conception of Hadrian himself. It has therefore recently been questioned, rightly in my opinion, whether these sculptures can actually be assigned to the genre of portraiture.⁸⁸

I would argue that, had Vout given more weight to the copy-recension method (*Kopienkritik*), she might have considered that a head in Tarragona (90 ff., pl. 4, 1–3), which, contrary to her, is not colossal but rather under-life-size (height from chin to top of head 0.19 m), is a somewhat simplified copy of the portrait type of Antinoos (Variant B). The turn of the head does not, I believe, justify seeing a different individual in the portrait, and certainly not Vout's freely invented "Antinoos-Alexander." A similar positioning of the head, caught in motion, is, for example, observable in the statue of Antinoos as a satyr in the Capitol.⁸⁹

The doubts voiced by Vout (86 f., pl. 5, 1–3) about the possibility of identifying a head in Copenhagen, reworked into a Severan portrait of a woman, and a heavily and falsely restored bust in the Ludovisi Collection in the Palazzo Altemps, of which only a portion of the back side is ancient, are, I believe, also unfounded. It is the nature of a copy of quality that it replicates faithfully the model on all four sides. Therefore, from a fragment, in this case the back side, an idea can be gained of the whole. And these fragments of backs display parts that correspond to portraits of Antinoos preserved in their entirety.⁹⁰

Vout seems to me to be ambivalent about the head of the fragmentary draped statue in Olympia (92 f., pl. 10, 3–4; here figs. 8.6, 8.9), which Meyer included in his "secondary type" (*Nebentypus*). She thinks the identification of the statue as Antinoos possible, but suggests that it is equally probable that it represents Polydeukion (91 ff., pl. 10, 1–2; here figs. 8.7, 8.10). For the sake of simplicity, I illustrate here the head beside copies of portraits of both figures. I see no recognizable connections with either the physiognomy or the hairstyle of the portrait of Polydeukion. The physiognomy of the head in Olympia is admittedly remarkably close to that of Antinoos, but there are no correspondences in the motifs of the hair. As copies of the Olympia portrait are (as yet) not known, we must be dealing here with a unique piece (*Einzelstück*). Should the identification of the statue with Antinoos be upheld, then it must be explained why, in Olympia, Hadrian's favourite was not represented with the version widespread in Greece and known by every Greek. As long as convincing grounds for this identification are lacking, the portrait in Olympia must be

⁸⁸ Goette 1998: 42 f.

⁸⁹ Meyer 1991: 70 ff. cat. I 50 pls. 58–59, whom Vout 2005: 88 n. 40 cites, but see also Fittschen-Zanker 1985: 62 no. 57.

⁹⁰ In the case of the Ludovisi bust, admittedly, one must also, for this purpose, see the back, Meyer 1991: pl. 64, 3–4.

counted among the (no small) number of private portraits for which the portrait of Antinoos served as a model.⁹¹

Vout (93 f.) seems to take exception to the view, widespread in the scholarship and also propounded by Meyer, that the extant portraits of Antinoos were all produced in the short period of time between Antinoos's death in the Nile (AD 130) and the death of Hadrian (AD 138). In fact, the long afterlife of the cult of Antinoos would lead to the assumption that the creation of copies of Antinoos' portrait continued even after Hadrian's death. Purely theoretical deliberations, however, do not take us any further. If it is to be maintained that copies were also produced after Hadrian's death, then it must be demonstrated that there are, in the "corpus" of portraits of Antinoos, examples that were definitely made after 138. Certainly, stylistic analysis would need to be invoked here, but Vout herself does not attempt anything of this sort. Evidence may also be gained from find contexts. Thus, for example, the bust and acrolith statue of Antinoos, found in the villa of Herodes Atticus in Loukou,⁹² could date to a post-Hadrianic period. Vout, however, does not address the implications of finds such as these.

In her attempt to cast doubt on the results and methods of scholarship on portraiture, Vout ventures into questions of authenticity (94 ff., pls. 7, 3; 11), an area riddled with difficulties. She is prepared to let stand arguments that suggest that the bronze head of Antinoos in the Museo Archeologico in Florence is ancient (84 n. 20), although in precisely this case convincing arguments have been made for the post-antique creation of the head (arguments which she does not cover).⁹³ Vout does, on the other hand, raise doubts about the antiquity of two famous monuments: the (heavily restored) Antinoos relief in the Villa Albani, excavated in 1735 in the Villa Hadriana, she regards as suspect because the relationship between head and body does not accord with contemporary historical reliefs (94 f., pl. 11).⁹⁴ In contrast, the "Antinoos Mandragone," discovered near Frascati between 1713 and 1729, she suggests, cannot, on account of its good state of preservation, be ancient (95, pls. 7, 3).⁹⁵

It is to be hoped that the types of arguments discussed above will not be taken as an alternative to more "traditional" methods, often seen as tedious and restrictive by their critics.

⁹¹ On the private portraits, see the compilation in Fittschen 1999: 80 ff. no. 1–13 pls. 130–33.

⁹² On the bust, see Meyer 1991: 28 cat. I.5, pl. 4, 2.3; on the statue, discovered later, see Spyropoulos (2003) 469 fig. 12.

⁹³ Meyer 1991: 17 n. 8; also see now Fittschen 2006: 253 pl. 75, 3–4, with the older literature.

⁹⁴ The relief is not a so-called historical relief, but rather takes up the form of Greek votive reliefs of the fifth century BC.

⁹⁵ It was with this fatal argument that England recently lost one of the highest quality portraits of Commodus, the bust from Castle Howard, to the J. Paul Getty Museum.

The armed ruler at Rome

MICHAEL KOORTBOJIAN

The distinction that the Romans made between *urbs* and *agri*, between the city and what lay beyond, is well known to all. It was a staple of both Roman public and augural law, and depended on the Romans' sense of the two spheres in which legitimate authority and the public auspices were held to obtain, "at home" and "in the field," *domi* and *militiae*, the proper realms of laws and war.¹

The *pomerium* constituted the division. It was a limit – but a conceptual, not a physical one. It corresponded not to the city's walls, but was itself constituted by the act of inaugurating the place where the city walls were to be built. The Etruscan rite of plowing the *sulcus primigenius*, the establishment of the ditch known as the *fossa*, and then the actual building of the city walls all depend on the site's formal inauguration, a matter of augural law. In a sense, we might say that the walls not only divide the *urbs* from the *agri*, but monumentalize what the *pomerium* stood for, as a legal and religious idea.²

Thus we comprehend that the distinction between the *urbs Romae* and the outside world was juridical and religious rather than geographical.³ When

* I am grateful to Björn Ewald and Carlos Noreña for the invitation to speak at the Yale conference; to the event's distinguished assembly, who provided both a receptive and a critical audience – no one more so than Werner Eck; to my colleague, Matthew Roller, who read an early draft, and whose careful criticism has improved what follows; and to Richard Brilliant and Peter Holliday for the generous loan of photographs.

¹ *Domi militiaeque*: Cic. *Rep.* 1.63; *Div.* 1.3; *Leg.* 3.6, 2.31; Livy 10.8.9; Sall. *Cat.* 29.3; 52.21. Spheres of war and law: Richardson 1991. Holders of *imperium* had, broadly speaking, four competences: political administration (*ius agendi cum populo, ius referendi*), military command, *iurisdictio*, and *coercitio*: so Rüpke 1990: 41. From a purely technical perspective, however, the sphere of *imperium* only pertained beyond the boundary of the *urbs*; within was the sphere of *iurisdictio*: Linderski 1986: 2204–05; Magdelain 1990: 227–28, stressing the pairing *imperium iudiciumque* (Sall. *Cat.* 29.13, Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.34).

² Sources, bibliography, and discussion in *LTUR* 4: 96–105 (Andreussi); analysis in Catalano 1978: 480; cf. Magdelain 1968: 65: "le boulevard intérieur des murs . . . comme limite des auspices urbains." Cogent synopsis in Beard, North, Price 1998: 177–81.

³ Catalano 1960: 302–03; 431, n. 147 and 1978: 481, on the distinction between *auspicia urbana* and *militaria* and its correspondence to that between *imperium domi* and *militiae*. On these concepts' dual nature: Mommsen 1887: I, 61–69, 90, and 99–101, with Brennan 2000: 12–14. Giovannini 1983 rejects the idea of the boundary as essentially geographical; followed by Liou-Gille 1993, who argues for its "valeur symbolique ancienne," and gives priority to the two spheres in which *auspicia* might be held. For the vexed question of religious prohibitions, see Orlin 2002.

leaving the city, as one crossed the *pomerium*, the urban auspices ceased to be valid,⁴ and the exercise of *imperium* took on a new aspect. Commanders now assumed the military auspices so as to exercise that power granted by the people in the military sphere (*imperium militiae*); the inverse situation held when entering the city, when the military facet of *imperium* was surrendered, and a properly civil aspect of power prevailed. It was a fundamental tenet of the Republican constitution that, as magistrates moved between the spheres *domi* and *militiae*, it was required that the power to command be renewed.⁵ One took the auspices to acknowledge the passing of this fundamental boundary in either direction, in order to inquire of Jupiter if the *imperium* about to be exercised in action – in either sphere of that authority – was unobstructed, and might legitimately proceed (Linderski 1986). The import of these rituals is clear: without religious sanction, the power to command (*imperium*), exercised “at home” or “in the field,” lost its legal foundation. So, one readily understands how, for Roman magistrates and commanders, to “cross the *pomerium*” was a highly significant act.

Yet legal distinctions did not always correspond to lived realities. Two examples must suffice. First, by the later Republic the *pomerium* no longer marked the actual boundary of the city, and the inhabitants of “Rome” did not reside solely within its limits, and not even inside the first milestone, to which this boundary was extended; thus the *pomerium* ceased, in any real sense, to be the division between *domi* and *militiae*.⁶ Second, and perhaps more significant, violence – and, at times, war – encroached on the city, which became, as a consequence, the center of the military sphere. The literary evidence for this is abundant: one need only think of Livy’s account of 211, with Hannibal’s troops at the city walls.⁷ Indeed, the rise of the dictatorship as an institution (which, as will become clear, plays a fundamental role in our problem) is traced in the sources to precisely such conditions, and these would have a profound effect on other institutions, as well. Thus, despite the traditional distinction between *domi* and *militiae*, not only arms, but those quintessential symbols of the exercise of *imperium*

⁴ Gell. 13.14.1 (*pomerium* as the limit of urban auspices); cf. Cic. *ND* 2.11 and *Div.* 1.33, with commentary in Magdelain 1968: 47–48.

⁵ Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.25 on the *lex Cornelia*, which established that military authority was held by the proconsul *quoad in urbem introisset*; cf. Cic. *Pis.* 50 for some of this law’s other provisions. On the need to renew one’s *imperium* upon “crossing the *pomerium*,” see Mommsen 1887: I, 68; Brennan 2004: 41–42, citing the example of Cicero’s denigration of the validity of Verres’ *imperium* at *Ver.* 2.5.34; see also Dio 39.63.4, for the example of Pompey, in 54, prevented by custom from entering the city while a *proconsul*; and for transformation of the prohibition in late Republican and Augustan times, see Ferrary 2001a.

⁶ Mommsen 1887: I, 61–70; Richardson 1991: 3, with bibliography.

⁷ Livy 26.9.6–10.10, with Mommsen 1887: I, 132 and Versnel 1970: 192.

in the military sphere – the *fascēs* bound with axes – were allowed to be carried within the *pomerium*: on some occasions, *imperium militiae* was to find its role “at home.”⁸

So we recognize how mistaken the assumption is, an assumption repeatedly voiced, that a corollary of the distinction between *domi* and *militiae* was that arms were not to be carried within the *pomerium*: armed troops *did* cross the *pomerium* and appeared in Rome – in art as well as in life – during the Republic as well as under the Empire.⁹ While the Republican sources are, admittedly, ambiguous, those of the imperial period make plain that this ancient legal distinction had lost both its relevance and its reality: for instance, the stationing of troops in the capital was a staple of early imperial organization, and already by the reign of Tiberius the accompaniment of the emperor by an armed guard at Rome was an established practice.¹⁰ Moreover, we have the striking evidence of the monuments: for example, on the Chatsworth relief we find armed men burning tax records, and on the Arch of Constantine, the emperor appears *paludatus* in the Forum. Despite the evidence of such images, discussions of some monuments – such as the Cancelleria reliefs – still founder on the mistaken view that a ban on all things military was, and remained, a fundamental aspect of Rome’s civic life throughout the Roman era; the corollary, explicit or merely implied, is that this should be determinate for representations as well as reality. As we shall see, this was hardly the case. Although Republican Rome distinguished the *urbs* both legally and religiously from what lay beyond the *pomerium*, its fundamental boundary, the disintegration of this essential division was merely one of the many Republican traditions whose demise would gradually define the advent of empire.¹¹

* * *

All Roman imagery demands to be set in the context of those legal, political, and religious institutions that not merely shaped but defined it. Three

⁸ *Fascēs cum securibus*: Magdelain 1968: 62–63. The varied competences associated with the exercise of *imperium domi*, and the ceremonial appearance of arms, have obscured the fundamental distinction. For example, the levying of troops was considered a civil matter, and conducted *domi*; rituals such as the *transvectio equitum*, in which armed equestrians paraded, were a conventionally *civic* display: see Magdelain 1968: 43; evidence and earlier bibliography in Alföldi 1970: 5–8, 47–49.

⁹ On this mistaken assumption and the belief that this might serve to distinguish the settings of works of art, see Kleiner 1983 (with earlier bibliography); much of the discussion has revolved around the interpretation of the “Tiberius cup” from Boscoreale, on which see Kuttner 1995: 140–42.

¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 1.7.5, with Millar 1992: 61. Troops in the city under the empire: Coulston 2000.

¹¹ The appearance of *paludati* in Rome on the Anaglypha Traiani, the Chatsworth relief, and the Arch of Constantine have been noted by Kuttner 1995: 31, 46–48; for the perceived problem of Cancelleria relief B, see Ghedini 1986 and, more recently, Herzog 2001, both with extensive bibliography. In general, Lahusen 1983: 51–53.

examples that have long been regarded as representations of the *imperator* are examined in the pages that follow; the meaning of these images is – as we shall see – hardly self-evident, despite convention. What ensues is an attempt to sketch the broader, institutional background that allows us to establish *what it meant* to be represented in this fashion *at Rome*, and, in so doing, to demonstrate what was, for the Romans of the dawning imperial age, the very real significance of “crossing the *pomerium*” and entering the city under arms.

I. The dictator’s prerogative and Caesar’s statue

A statue of Julius Caesar is attested by the elder Pliny (*HN* 34.18), who tells us that “Caesar the dictator allowed a cuirassed statue to be dedicated to himself in his forum (*loricatus in foro suo*).”¹² The work was in all likelihood of bronze, and may well be reflected (it is demonstrably not replicated) by a clearly later statue, now in the Senators’ Palace on the Capitoline (fig. 9.1),¹³ since, according to a reference in a letter of the younger Pliny (8.6.13), the statue seems to have still been standing in *his* day. So, as Caesar’s statue attests, in the late Republic and throughout the first century AD, men could clearly be *represented* in armor within the *pomerium*;¹⁴ *what* this represented is our question.

The statue’s fame in the younger Pliny’s day was sufficient that mention of it needed no further topographical reference – something might simply be *ad statuam loricatam divi Iulii*.¹⁵ Was this because it was unusual? Although images of cuirassed warriors are to be found among the surviving monuments of the Republican period – e.g., the Vatican Nuncupatio relief (fig. 9.2) – there is an important difference in both *genre* and cultural significance between these reliefs and what constituted an honorific statue.¹⁶ In fact, while the *statua loricata* was to become a central element of the imperial

¹² Discussion in Weinstock 1971: 87; Corbier 1997; D’Accinni 1943–45.

¹³ For the Capitoline statue, see Albertoni 1993. Stemmer 1978, cat. no. VI 3 with Taf. 48.1, dates the cuirass-type and its decoration to the Trajanic era, comparing the fragmentary torso from Trajan’s Forum (cat. Va 1, Taf. 45, 5–6); for the *cingulum* as a Trajanic attribute, see 128–29 and notes.

¹⁴ Cf. the view of Hausmann 1981: 518 n. 11a: “Das allgemeine Waffenverbot innerhalb des *Pomeriums* mochte der Errichtung von Panzerstatuen im Stadtgebiet Roms zunächst nicht förderlich sein; aber in den Landgemeinden (u. a. Tibur, Lanuvium) bestanden keine Hinderungsgründe. Die ‘Erfinder’ der Panzerstatue waren selbstverständlich die Römer nicht.”

¹⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.13; discussion in Corbier 1997.

¹⁶ Vatican *Nuncupatio* relief: Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1937: 189–90; Helbig⁴ 1963, I: 803–04 (E. Simon); Felletti Mai 1977: 191–92; Kleiner 1983: 298; Holliday 2002: 176–77 and fig. 96. The broad significance of the *nuncupatio* has been thoroughly discussed by Kuttner 1995: 136–42.



Fig. 9.1 Cuirassed statue of Julius Caesar. Rome, Palazzo Senatorio.

statuary repertory, no other Republican examples of such a cuirassed statue survive from the city of Rome, physically or epigraphically, although several are known from elsewhere in Italy: for instance, a statue (fig. 9.3), now in Munich, was found at Frascati; others are known from the south, at Lecce and Brindisi; and there are a few whose date and provenance are uncertain,

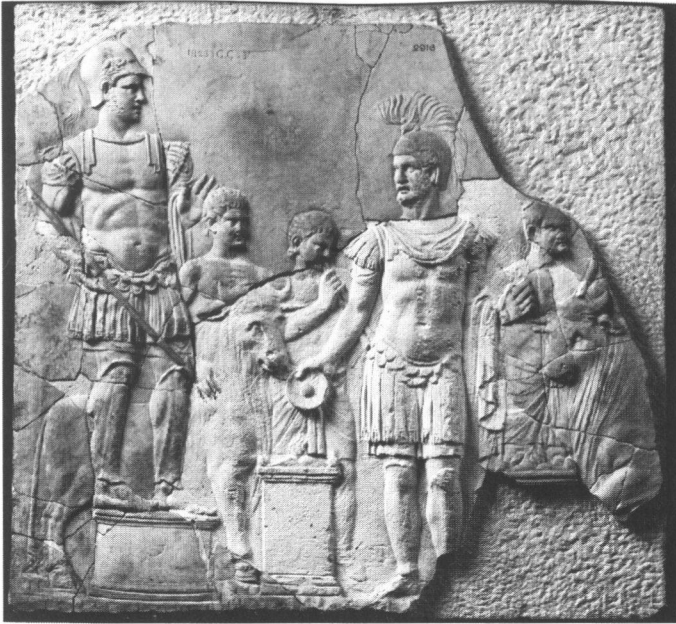


Fig. 9.2 *Nuncupatio* relief. Rome, Musei Vaticani.

such as the late first-century statue, now in Copenhagen (probably from somewhere near Rome).¹⁷ Thus it has been suggested by a number of scholars that such an honorific cuirassed statue as Caesar's would have been an innovation in the capital – in large measure in response to the elder Pliny's comment, apropos of Caesar's statue, that contrary to Greek practice, it was the Roman way “to add a military breastplate.”¹⁸

¹⁷ Munich *loricatus*: Felton 1971: 235–37, dated to the 40s BC, and considered an Italic copy of an original produced in Greece for a Greek context. Other examples: Lecce 4598 (= Stemmer 1978: 173, no. 243 = Vermeule 1959–60: no. 98; see Simon 1991: 225 and n. 83, “early Augustan”); Brindisi 144 (= Stemmer no. 87 = Vermeule no. 19; see Simon 1991: 225 and n. 84 dated c. 40–30 BC). See the survey in Niemeyer 1968: 48–49, who regarded the Munich statue as the oldest known from Italy. As Lahusen 1983: 52 points out, all the inscriptions that attest a *statua loricata* are from the second century AD; cf. Eck 1984a: 144 for a presumption that the practice was more widespread (the examples adduced are nevertheless of later imperial date); Stemmer 1978: 142, “it was certainly not a common form of honorific statue.” Cf. Pekáry 1985: 97, who (following Niemeyer 1968 and Zanker 1981) presumes (wrongly) that it was a widely established Republican type; Zanker 1981 discusses the Augustan statue of Holconius Rufus (after 2/1 BC); the *loricata* seems to have still been relatively rare in mid-Augustan times.

¹⁸ Plin. HN 34.18: *Graeca res nihil velare, at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere*. Caesar's *loricata* as an innovation: Lahusen 1983: 51–52, claiming that “Caesar actually introduced the first official cuirassed statue in Rome”; followed by Jehne 1987: 209 n. 66; so too, Sehlmeier 1999: 230, as rare in the Republic; Stemmer 1978: 142–43, citing Cic. *Off.* 1.61 (see n. 19, below), and understanding this to refer to cuirassed statues, suggests it was not so rare;



Fig. 9.3 Cuirassed statue from Frascati. Munich, Glyptothek.

The sources, however, might seem to suggest that the *statua loricata* was long-familiar at Rome, although the matter is hardly clear. Much depends on our interpretation of the statue of Horatius Cocles, a work attested in the Forum, at the Volcanal, and still standing in the time of the elder Pliny.

rebutted by Lahusen 1983: 52, n. 51. Felten 1971: 235 points out the absence of evidence for early cuirassed statues, and, on the basis of the surviving fragments of cuirassed statues associated with the hemicycles of the Forum of Augustus, suggests their relationship to the triumph (although, as we shall see, this seems unlikely for the *triumphatores* of the Republican period); cf. Rose 1997: 74 on their relative infrequency and mostly posthumous decree in early imperial times. In addition it should be noted that, on the Belvedere Altar in the Vatican, Romulus (?) appears *loricatus* in a chariot, and we might conclude from this that in Augustan times, the costume could be held to be of the greatest Roman antiquity (cf. n. 23 below).

Cicero mentions it, together with the statues of several other Republican worthies – the Decii, the Scipios, and Marcellus – and remarks that “their passion for military glory is shown in the fact that we see their statues usually in soldier’s garb (*ornatu fere militari*).” But whether or not this refers to statues *loricatae* as opposed to *paludatae*, or even arrayed in the *vestis triumphalis* – the sign of the highest military distinction – is far from certain. Moreover, the late date of our sources, and the early date assigned to Horatius (and, presumably, his statue: late sixth century BC) renders the question beyond definitive solution.¹⁹

What prompted Caesar’s cuirassed statue? A survey of the repertory of honorific statues, and a careful examination of Caesar’s status, offers an answer. Like all other honorific statues, the message of the costume in which Caesar was depicted was conveyed, not only by its *titulus*, but visually. What did the form itself symbolize?

We should recall that, in Republican times, successful commanders – those who held both the *auspicia* and *imperium* – had the right to triumph, and their honorific statues would have shown them wearing the *vestis triumphalis*, the *toga picta* (fig. 9.4).²⁰ Those who did not qualify for this greatest of Roman honors might well have been presented *loricatus*;²¹ but

¹⁹ Horatius’ statue: Livy 2.10.12; Gell. 4.5; Dion. Hal. 5.25.2; *De Viris Illust.* 11.2; Plut. *Publ.* 16.9; Plin. *HN* 34.21; Cic. *Off.* 1.61; commentary in Sehlmeier 1999: 92–96 and Roller 2004: esp. 20–22, 34–35. For the equation *paludatus* = *armatus*, see Festus 298 (Lindsay); that *ornatu fere militari* = *triumphali ornatu* is not at all certain, and Cicero’s list of examples does not argue strongly in its favor, since the two Decii were not awarded a triumph. Cf. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina (*RE* 341; *cos.* 260, 254), the triumph voted in 253: *Fasti Cap.* = Degrassi 1947: 77; P. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Scipio Africanus (*RE* 336; *cos.* 205, 194), triumphed in 201: Livy 30.45, Polyb. 16.23; M. Claudius Marcellus M. f. M. n. (*RE* 220; *cos.* 222, 215, 214, 210, 208), triumphed 222: *Fasti Cap.* = Degrassi 1947: 79). For the attempt to set up statues of the elder Scipio *triumphali ornatu* – which Scipio refused – see Livy 38.56.12 and Val. Max. 4.1.6.

²⁰ *Vestis triumphalis*: Livy 5.41.2 (the *toga picta* as *augustissima vestis*); similarly, Festus 228 (Lindsay). Fittschen 1970: 544 notes that in imperial times, the triumphal toga was probably the special preserve of the emperor himself. Cf. Zanker 1979: 354 on the *statua triumphalis* (“höchste Ehrung”). Full discussion of the repertory of the *ornatus triumphalis* in Versnel 1970: ch. 2. *Toga picta* coin: BMC I: no. 397 = Giard no. 1191 = RIC² no. 99; discussion by Trillmich in Kaiser *Augustus* 1988: cat. no. 344.

²¹ Two problems, unresolvable, present themselves. First, according to Suetonius (*Aug.* 31.5), the statues that the emperor Augustus erected in the hemicycle of his forum were *statuae triumphales*, but not all those attested as having been represented there had actually celebrated a triumph (Ap. Claudius Caecus and L. Albinus); see Spannagel 1999: 326. Second, the *triumphatores* would have been depicted there, as the inscription for C. Marius (in the Arezzo text) shows, *veste triumphali, calceis patriciis* (Degrassi 1937: nos. 17 and 83). Was the surviving *loricatus* (torso) that is associated with the *summi viri* of Augustus’ forum (Ungaro and Milella 1995, II: no. 16) the statuary form in which the two men who had not triumphed were commemorated? And if so, is this a *retrojection* of the use of the cuirass we find in the case of both Caesar’s and Augustus’ *statuae loricae*? The problem is compounded by the thirteen



Fig. 9.4 Representation of the *toga picta*. Denarius, Spanish mint, c. 18 BC.

the use of that aggrandizing imagery so familiar from the “Generals,” from Tivoli (fig. 9.5), Foruli (fig. 9.6), or Rome – gives one pause, since this elevated visual rhetoric provided a dramatic alternative that was demonstrably employed outside Rome, quite probably on private land, as the origin of these statues suggests.²² Indeed, the honorific statues that are attested or survive from the late Republic suggest the main reason for the rarity of the *statua loricata*: forms that conveyed greater distinction – literally (represented in the *toga picta*) or metaphorically (the nude statues) – were ready to hand and widely employed. Thus, that Caesar should be presented *loricatus* was all the more unusual.²³

fragmentary shoes, seemingly *mullei*, the animal-skin boots worn customarily (but apparently not only) with military costume (Rinaldi Tufi 1981 with Goette 1988) similarly associated with the hemicycles.

²² Similarly, Stemmer 1978: 142; cf. Zanker 1981, on Holconius Rufus’ statue (representing “provincial honors”), which he associates, confusingly, with those represented in “ideal nudity.” The “generals” from Tivoli, Foruli, and Rome: Himmelfmann 1989 and now Hallett 2005a: ch. 4. Consider as well the appearance of men who had attained the rank of *tribunus militaris* and who appear on the early reliefs associated with the *liberti*.

²³ Cf. Hausmann 1981: 518: the repertory of image-types for successful commanders, consuls, and proconsuls followed Hellenistic examples (cuirassed statues, both *equestres* and *pedestres*, and the “heroizing” type of the Tivoli General); cf. also the explanations for the “invention” of the *statua loricata* (above, n. 18). The appearance of *loricati* on the tomb reliefs generally associated with Roman freedmen confirms the distinction between the cuirass and the triumphal costume (also noted by Stemmer 1978: 145); Weinstock 1971: 87 suggests that Romulus and Aeneas had been represented *loricatus*; cf. Spannagel 1999: 96–97, 132–33 on their appearance in this guise in the Forum Augustum, and, on the Belvedere Altar, see 311 n. 337, along with n. 18 above.



Fig. 9.5 Statue of a Roman "General" from Tivoli. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme.

Caesar's *cursus* dictated the *insignia* of office to which he was entitled and it is hard to imagine his presentation in a form that failed to display those *insignia* commensurate with the highest of his honors. Caesar was nothing if not proud, and subsequent statues attested in the sources, and the few surviving inscriptions, probably from statue bases, suggest as

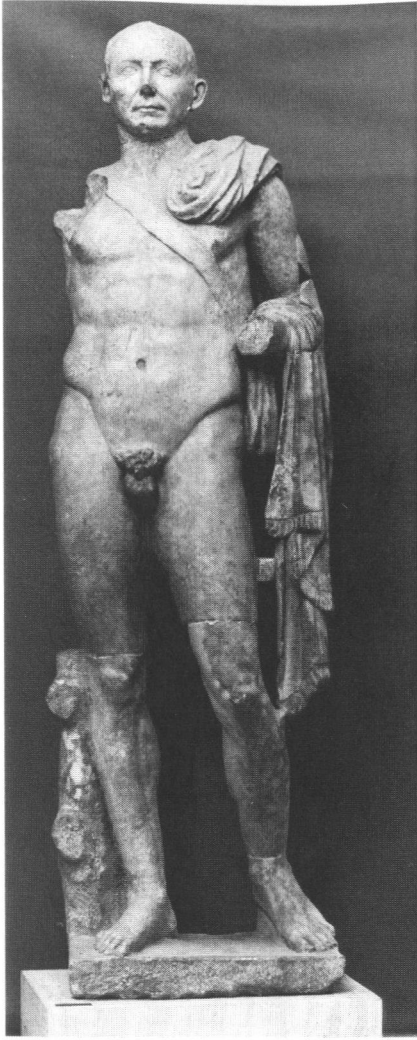


Fig. 9.6 Statue of a Roman “General” from Foruli. Chieti, Museum.

much.²⁴ We recall that Caesar was consul for the first time in 59; he was first appointed dictator in late 49, and for a second time, for the year, in 48.²⁵ Although he had been acclaimed by his troops in Spain, and awarded

²⁴ *ILS* 70 = *CIL* 9.2563 = *ILLRP* 406: *C. Iulio Caesari imperatori dictatori iterum pontifici maximo* . . . ; see Weinstock 1971: 105, n. 3, with the other examples, and the commentary in Raubitschek 1954.

²⁵ December 49: *Caes. bc* 2.21.5, *Dio* 41.36; anticipated in March 49: *Cic. Att.* 9.15; cf. Gelzer 1968: 219, and 203 for the absence of the consuls, with the sources; Meier 1996: 385–87. For the

a triumph in 60, its celebration was blocked by Cato,²⁶ and he did not triumph until 46, after Thapsus. Thus, unqualified to be represented in the triumphator's *toga picta*,²⁷ the unusual choice of a *statua loricata* suggests its date: *before* Caesar had the right to wear the triumphator's traditional garb, and *after* he had entered his second, year-long dictatorship (Sept. 48: Dio 42.20.3), thus roughly late 48–47. That we are told of Caesar's being granted the right, after 45, to wear triumphal dress and laurel crown, not only at the games, but when sacrificing, all but guarantees that the *statua loricata* belongs to a moment when a public display of such more impressive honors was not yet his to make.²⁸ In fact, we know, thanks to a notice in Dio, that after Pharsalus (August 48) and the death of Pompey (Sept. 28, 48), on the occasion of Caesar's appointment to his second dictatorship, *eikones* were voted him by an appreciative, indeed fawning, senate; perhaps our statue was among them.²⁹

Yet the cuirass was not the dictator's conventional mode of dress. One assumes that at Rome he wore the *toga praetexta* of the magistrates,³⁰ for the *insignia* of the dictator's powers were borne by the twenty-four lictors who accompanied him, brandishing – in contrast to those of the consuls – the

unusual procedure of Caesar's appointment, see Brennan 2000: 121. Second dictatorship: mid-September 48, nominated dictator for one year (Gelzer 1968: 249, n. 2, with sources; further, 253).

²⁶ See Gruen 1995 (1974): 89 and n. 21, with sources and bibliography. He was first acclaimed in Spain in 61: Cic. *Pis.* 59; Dio 44.41.3; App. *BC* 2.8.27. He was granted the *praenomen imperatoris* in 45: Suet. *Caes.* 76.1; Dio 43.44.2, with discussion of Weinstock 1971: 104–06.

²⁷ Cf. similar argument in Itgenshorst 2004: 453 and n. 63.

²⁸ Dio 43.43.1 (at the games); App. *BC* 2.106 (sacrificing); discussion in Weinstock 1971: 107–11. Weinstock's assertion that the statue of Caesar kept in the cella of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter and carried in the *pompa* of 45 depicted him in triumphal attire is, however, less than secure, despite the analogies with the honors for the elder Scipio (110 and n. 3).

²⁹ For statues decreed in later 48, after Pharsalus, see Dio 42.19.3 with Weinstock 1971: 41; see also Dio 42.20.1–3. The association of the statue dedicated on the Capitol (accompanied by *Oikoumene* and chariot and labeled "Hemitheos") with the Via Cassia relief and its cuirassed emperor (notably by Weinstock 1971: 40–59) poses a relevant question about the appearance of Caesar *loricatus*. The award of the statue on the Capitol, if it was in fact decreed after Thapsus, would have *followed* that of the cuirassed figure in Caesar's Forum. If it too depicted Caesar *loricatus* (as the Via Cassia relief is thought to do), its iconography might *not* be directly related to his triumph, since, like the *loricata* in his forum, the Capitol statue was decreed long after the award of his triumph (in 60 BC), and before its celebration; Caesar is said to have seen it upon the arrival of his triumphal procession at the Capitol (Dio 43.14.6).

³⁰ Cf. Sehlmeier 1999: 205–8 on the imagery of the equestrian statue of Sulla the dictator, set up in December 82; cf. *RRC* 381, which shows the statue, wearing the toga. Sehlmeier (208) suggests that "der zivilen Kleidung Sullas spricht dafür, daß Sullas Rolle als Ordnungsstifter herausgestellt werden sollte. Die Absicht der Statue lag also eher darin, Grausamkeiten des Bürgerkrieges vergessen zu machen und die *dictatura rei publicae constituendae* vorzubereiten."

fascēs with their axes.³¹ So, why the cuirass? At the close of 48, the context is telling: Caesar was in Alexandria, and the situation at Rome was chaotic, with the city ruled by the equivalent of martial law under the command of Antony, whom Caesar had appointed as Master of the Horse. Soldiers protected the senate (Dio 42.23–24), and neither consuls nor praetors were appointed. Antony prevailed, always girt with his sword and accompanied by an armed cohort (42.27.2; 42.29.3). Civil war may well have been settled, but its effects still pervaded the capital.

Under these circumstances, Caesar's image would have publicly acknowledged his authority as the sole supreme commander. Indeed, after 48, he had engineered what has been recognized as the "disempowerment" (*Entmachtung*) of the consuls, and the transformation of that magistracy into what was effectively a civil office: between 48 and 44, no consuls were prorogued to govern provinces and command troops, save for Caesar.³² In 48, as dictator, he commanded both *domi* and *militiae*, and – more precisely – it was one of the central tenets of his extraordinary command that he was entitled to exercise his *imperium militiae* within the *pomerium*.³³ Despite his absence from Rome at the end of 48, the fact of his legal authority was not lost on his opponents in the senate, who feared his power and hoped for his clemency. Indeed, fears of the Sullan legacy, of proscriptions and summary executions, loomed large amid an aristocracy long-torn by civil strife.³⁴ Many aristocrats had sided with Pompey, and for them, the memory of Caesar's

³¹ For the *fascēs* as *insignia imperii*, see Livy 1.8.2 and 17.6; 2.7.7; commentary and further examples in Staveley 1963: 459 and n. 3, and the full treatment of Schäfer 1989; twenty-four *fascēs*: Polyb. 3.87, Dion. Hal. 10.24, Plut. *Fab.* 4, App. *BC* 1.100 with Staveley 459, n. 4. Dictatorship: Nicolet 2004. One might add that the dictator also sat on the *sella curulis* in public. According to Livy (4.41.3), the dictator's *auspicia* were superior to the consul's (so Linderski 1986: 2181; *contra* Versnel 1970: 358, n. 2); whether his *imperium* was so is debated.

³² Girardet 1990: 91–93. The consuls of 49, C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, were assigned provinces *ex magistratu*, as had been Republican custom (despite the *lex Pompeia*, for which see below, nn. 59–60); of the five men other than Caesar who held the consulate between 48 and 45, only two were assigned provinces – not prorogued, *ex magistratu*, but assigned as *privati* after a year's hiatus: P. Servilius Isauricus, *cos.* 48, was *procos.* in Asia, 46 (extended for 45); P. Vatinius, *cos.* 47, was *procos.* in Illyricum, 45.

³³ The dictator's powers: Dion. Hal. 5.70.1 and 73.1 ("full authority over war and peace and every other matter"), 5.70.4 ("having power superior to that of the consuls"); Livy 2.18.8–9 (single command in the field); Livy 6.38.3 (*summum imperium, summus civis*); cf. commentary in Lintott 1999: 18, 109–13. Not subject to *provocatio*, thus the dictator rules in the city by the standards of military authority: see Livy 6.16.3, with Oakley 1997: 534–35, and 6.16.5, on aspersions cast on A. Cornelius Cossus, who was said to have earned his triumph *domi non militiae*. For the parallel to the temporary power of the *triumphator*, cf. the analysis in Versnel 1970: 191–92.

³⁴ A long-standing fear, in both camps: see Cic. *Att.* 8.9.2 and 8.13.1 with the comments of Jehne 1987: 249.

professions of *clementia* and his supposed disdain for cruelty surely influenced the decrees of lavish new honors for him.³⁵ And in this context, Caesar's *statua loricata* declared him *imperator*, but reminded both senate and people that, as dictator, he was legally entitled to "cross the *pomerium*" and wield those powers at Rome, to bear arms and employ his *imperium* within the city. Seen against the background of the events of 47/46 – and particularly, the mutiny of his Gallic legions in Campania in early 47 (Chrissanthos 2001) – the meaning of Caesar's *statua loricata* would have been clear to all. For whatever had been intended by the senate and people when they erected it – surely flattery – the armored statue not only declared Caesar *imperator* by signaling his famed prowess as a military commander, but also asserted his primacy as the sole if temporary leader of state, and threatened that his well-known *clementia* had its limits.³⁶ His *statua loricata* was the visible demonstration of his extraordinary status, legal and political, both *domi* and *militiae*, and in this regard it was the harbinger of a significant aspect of the empire yet to come. Thus, it heralded an entirely new sense of what it might mean for a leader of state "to cross the *pomerium*."

II. The image of Augustus' *imperium*

Whether or not this interpretation of Caesar's statue is correct, the prerogatives of his status established a precedent for those of Augustus, and this prompts a second example – the famous statue from Prima Porta (fig. 9.7) – the original of which was surely another monument in armor originally set up within the city of Rome.³⁷ There can be little doubt that this statue is properly associated with the return of the Parthian standards, and that this is the significance of its figured breastplate – recent polemic notwithstanding (Simpson 2005). By contrast, what has received little attention, and what

³⁵ Caesar on cruelty: Cic. Att. 9.16.1, quoting Caesar's letter: "You are right to infer of me (for I am well known to you) that there is nothing further from my nature than cruelty"; yet cf. Cic. Att. 10.4. On Caesar's exercise of *iurisdictio* at Rome while dictator, see Millar 1973: 60 = 2002: 258.

³⁶ Caesar's military imagery was reiterated, subtly, on the denarius of L. Aemilius Buca (RRC 480/6), on the reverse of which appear the rods of the *fascies*, crossed with the *caduceus*; in one quadrant appears the globe, in another clasped hands. These most likely symbolize, respectively, *libertas*, *felicitas*, world dominion, and *concordia* (so Crawford, RRC 1: 494). An axe also appears, in the third quadrant, and in this context cannot be the symbol of Caesar's pontificate (as it is, e.g., on RRC 456/1a, *pace* Crawford, who was followed here by Trillmich in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988: cat. no. 281), but must suggest that the *DICT PERPETUO* held his military powers both *domi* and *militiae*; the same conclusion was reached by Alföldi 1969: 2 ("Das Richtbeil des Diktators zuunterst ist eine Mahnung an Widerspenstige"), and elaborated by Schäfer 1989: 223.

³⁷ See Pollini 1995, with earlier bibliography.



Fig. 9.7 Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. Rome, Musei Vaticani.

we should consider seriously, is why, in 19 BC, *this* statuary form should have been employed to represent Augustus at the moment of the Parthian success.

Two questions require an answer. Was this statue type, in 19, an innovation in Augustus' image repertory? That is, did this statue have a precedent other than Caesar's *statua loricata*? And, what bearing did this statue type have on this monument's meaning? While the bibliography devoted to this

statue is voluminous, these are questions that, to the best of my knowledge, have not been adequately addressed.

With respect to precedent, three things must be recognized. First, the sources say relatively little about Augustus' statues. They record nothing in conjunction with the ovations of 40 and 36, and there is no good reason to assume (as is so often done) that such celebrations were traditionally accompanied by the erection of honorific statuary.³⁸ While physical evidence for other cuirassed statues of Augustus survives, all of these appear to have come from outside of Rome. Since three of the four known examples employed Prima Porta head types, and all three are dated later on the basis of style, these are quite likely to have been replicas of the Prima Porta statue itself.³⁹ The exception is a head from Lucus Feroniae (fig. 9.8), which once formed part of a cuirassed statue and is thought to replicate a work earlier than the Prima Porta statue.⁴⁰ But is it evidence of an earlier *cuirassed* statue? It is virtually impossible to know what the *Urbild* for this "Lucus Feroniae" type was, since it was an essential aspect of the portrait system that early types were later replicated for differing contexts. Thus, the fact that the Lucus Feroniae head sat atop a cuirass-clad body is not in itself evidence of an early *statua loricata*.⁴¹

One further possibility exists. Dio reports that in 25, Agrippa erected statues of Augustus and himself at his new Pantheon (completed in 27). Apparently he had intended to display Augustus' statue together with those of Mars, Venus, and Divus Julius within, but in the face of Augustus' objection, Agrippa erected their statues (otherwise unspecified here) in the temple's porch (Dio 53.27.2–3). Later, recording the prodigies of 22, Dio reports (54.1.1) that during heavy rains, "many places were struck by thunderbolts, including the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear actually fell from

³⁸ Statues: Lahusen 1984: 61–66. Ovations: 40 BC (*Fasti Triumphali* = Ehrenberg and Jones 1983: 33); 36 BC (*Fasti Triumphali* = Ehrenberg and Jones, 34). Lack of evidence for honorific statues: Wallace-Hadrill 1990; recently, Itgenshorst 2004: 442, n. 25: "the back-projection of a tradition introduced by Augustus."

³⁹ Baltimore head: Boschung 1993a: no. 75, late Augustan, Prima Porta type; Basel/Malibu head: Boschung no. 79, Caligulan, Prima Porta type; Boston head: Boschung no. 80, Caligulan, Prima Porta type.

⁴⁰ Lucus Feroniae Augustus: Boschung no. 4, Octavianszeit, Lucus Feroniae type. Cf. Smith 1996 on the portrait system's functioning; further, Pollini 1999: 728.

⁴¹ Indeed, portrait studies focus on the typology of heads, not bodies, since the system of portrait replication did not attend to the original marriage of head and body that is central to the monumental conceptions for which they were no doubt invented; here my view is diametrically opposed to that espoused by Boschung 1993a: 6–8 (followed by Smith 1996: 37), whose divorce of the *Urbilder* from particular monuments may well have been true for the High Empire, when the mass-production of imperial portraits was an established aspect of the machinery of state, but is anachronistic for the earlier period, when no such system was yet in place.



Fig. 9.8 Portrait of Augustus. Lucus Feroniae, Antiquarium.

Augustus' hand." The statue must have depicted Augustus *loricatus*. Given that statues inside the temple, among the gods, had been rejected, and that Dio refers to the two works erected in the porch explicitly as those of men (*andriantes*), it is unlikely that Augustus was depicted *in formam deorum*, the only other instance in which he might have brandished a spear. If Dio's report is to be trusted, here we find the *Augustan* precedent for the cuirassed statue from Prima Porta.

This realization would address a second issue. While the (presumably bronze) original of the Prima Porta statue must date, on account of its "Parthian" iconography, to c. 20/19, by general consensus the "Prima Porta" head-type should be dated c. 27, in correspondence with the "constitutional settlement." Dependence on the cuirassed form of the reputed Pantheon statue would provide a plausible account for the contemporaneous creation of both the Prima Porta body and head type.

And finally, third: what of the coinage? Does it provide evidence for an early cuirassed statue? The meaning of the silver coins associated with

the Actium victory has been much debated, and many have seen these as depicting statues.⁴² While standing cuirassed figures are employed on these coins, they display distinctly differing poses, and there are no such statues attested in the sources for the period in which they are generally dated (c. 32/31–29/27),⁴³ save for Dio's account of the Pantheon statue, to which they may, or may not, correspond. Thus, the coins offer little in the way of a solution to our problem.

So, it is impossible to know precisely when Augustus was, for the first time, represented by a *statua loricata*; the original of the Prima Porta statue (c. 19), or that at the Pantheon (c. 25) may well have been the first: we simply don't know. What we do know is that *whenever* Augustus was first represented *loricatus*, it would have been Caesar's statue that provided the precedent for such a statue that vaunted, above all else, military authority.

But what did it mean for Augustus to be presented in this guise in 19 BC?⁴⁴ What were the alternatives that the statuary repertory offered?⁴⁵ That repertory corresponded, *grosso modo*, to the *cursus* – as the famous inscription of Volusius Saturninus attests – and each of the repertory's forms signaled the attainment of ever-higher status, whether elective office, or public honor, whether civic, military, or religious. Indeed, the richness of the repertory was required by such manifold and distinct honors, all the more so in the case of the emperor, since a free-standing statue might only

⁴² Silver coins: e.g., Liegle 1941: 325–26; Zanker 1973: 42 (but see the differing view in Zanker 1988, 53: “matching each of the *topoi* in Octavian's speech before the battle [of Actium] as it is recorded for us in Dio 50.24ff.”); Trillmich in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988: 483–85. Cuirassed type: see, e.g., the coin series for the equestrian monument attested for 43: Bergemann 1990: cat. no. L25, with earlier bibliography; cf. Stemmer 1978: 145.

⁴³ See the summary of opinions in Gurval 1998, 47–52.

⁴⁴ It is generally held that the *statua loricata* was the symbol of *imperium* (e.g., Niemeyer 1968: 47–49); thus Pollini 1999: 729, dates the conception to 43, when Octavian was first granted power and associates this with the decree of the attested equestrian monument – this despite the fact that there is no suggestion that any of the coins depict him *loricatus* (cf. Bergemann 1990: 31 and n. 251). Further, Boschung 1993a: 59 notes that the portraits on the earliest coins (c. 43 BC) are both *widersprüchlich* and *summarisch*, and thus *do not* correspond with the earliest dated portrait types (“Spoleto-Beziers” and “Lucus Feroniae” types, dated by Boschung to 44–40). He sees the Lucus Feroniae type in the Voconius coins (*RRC* 526, 40 BC [?] or later) and those of Octavian and Balbus (*RRC* 518, 41 BC), and following Fittschen regards the Alcudia type reflected in the *Divus Iulius* coins of c. 40–38 (1993: 59–60 and notes). Do we infer from this that the equestrian monument decreed in 43 and depicted on the coins (*RRC* 490) not only represented a “projected monument,” but that no portrait type – that is, no public portrait statue – was produced early on that might have been replicated on these early coins? Cf. Pollini 1999: 727, who says that the earliest coin portraits to conform to the portrait types (Beziers-Spoleto type) are those of Livineius Regulus, minted in 42 (*RRC* 494, 3a and 25).

⁴⁵ Cf. Simon 1991: 206, who merely draws the contrast with the togate types; further, Koortbojian 2008.

visualize a single element of one's acquired titulature at a time (Zanker 1979: 360).

So, the cuirassed image from Prima Porta surely cast Augustus as *imperator*, the traditional honorific granted him in 43 and directly associated with his person since he had adopted it as his *praenomen*, perhaps as early as 39⁴⁶ – despite the glory of the “triple” triumph he had celebrated in 29 (13–15 August). Two observations follow from this. First, it is generally acknowledged that the surviving imagery suggests the occurrence of a distinct change in Augustus' self-representation after 27, when the essentially Hellenistic pathos of the early portrait types gave way to a more classicizing rendition of his features and a new emphasis on his role as a citizen.⁴⁷ The latter was patently not true, as the Prima Porta and the Pantheon statue, together with the coinage, suggest: in the mid-20s and after, the advertisement of Augustus' military position was still prominent in Rome. And second, this prominence stood in direct contrast to a public claim of Augustus' full accomplishments. For, as we saw in the case of Caesar, the appearance of the successful *imperator* – one who had been granted the honor of a triumph – was traditionally in the costume of the *triumphator*, which was worn not only in the rite itself, but at the games and at funerals.⁴⁸

So, none of these martial images acknowledges Augustus as *triumphator*. Why? In the case of the Prima Porta statue in particular, Augustus' depiction on this occasion in the triumphal *ornatus* was surely deemed inappropriate, as he had refused a triumph.⁴⁹ Equally inappropriate would have been his appearance in the toga, since it would not have served to perpetuate the fiction that the return of the Parthian standards was, in some sense, a victory.⁵⁰ The decision to be depicted in armour would thus have effected,

⁴⁶ Cuirass = *imperator*, assumed yet unargued by, e.g., Pollini 1995: 264–65 and n. 22; Hölscher in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988: 386–87. *Praenomen imperatoris*: evidence surveyed in Simpson 1998, dating its assumption to 39–38 bc; Combès 1966: 134–35, for 40 bc (*Fasti triumphales Barberiniani*); Syme 1979: 368, for 38 bc. Hickson 1991: 132 (following Syme 1979: 372): “By assuming the name *Imperator*, Augustus made this image a permanent personal possession.”

⁴⁷ Cf. Zanker 1979: 358 on the difference between the coin imagery after Actium (military) and the coinage (and statuary: Corinth) after 27 (“meist capite velato erscheint”); Boschung 1993a: 64; Smith 1996: 41.

⁴⁸ Games: Tert. IV = Versnel 1970: 73, 74, n. 3, 130, nn. 2–3; funeral: Polyb. 6.53.7; Ov. *Fast.* 6.363 ff; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 31.5 on the Forum Augustum: *statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticus dedicavit*.

⁴⁹ See Girardet 1993: 212–14 on Augustus' refusals as an aspect of his “traditionalism” and a rejection of an association with those who had celebrated more than three triumphs – all were dictators.

⁵⁰ Cf. RG 29, where, immediately following his account of the recovery, *devictis hostibus*, of standards lost in Spain, Gaul, and Dalmatia, Augustus offers his claim that he “compelled” (*coegi*) the return of Parthian standards; cf. Dio 54.8.2.

in this sense, the visualization of his *recusatio*; for much the same reason an equestrian statue would not do, since it would have potentially alluded to the celebration of an *ovatio*. On his return in 19, Augustus, we are told, no doubt with a keen eye to such matters, entered the city inconspicuously, by night.⁵¹

Thus, the cuirass provided a dramatic alternative. Augustus' appearance in a guise that did not fully and conspicuously declare his status reminds us that, in 19, as in 27 at the Pantheon, he no longer needed to be represented in a manner that acknowledged the actual grandeur of his position.

* * *

There is more to be said about the historical context of 19 BC that serves to explain this statue's appearance. A great deal of attention has been paid to the transformation of Augustus' status in the year that the Prima Porta statue was probably dedicated. For it was in this same year that, upon his return from the east, both the third attempt to define Augustus' constitutional position took place, and the traditional access to the triumph was blocked.⁵² The striking correspondence between the last elaborations of Augustus' so-called "constitutional settlement," the curtailment of the triumph for Roman commanders who were not members of the imperial house, and the celebration of the return of the Parthian standards – to which the Prima Porta statue is so demonstrably related – is neither a matter of mere chronology nor merely fortuitous. All three of these historical events require comment.

We may begin with the "constitutional settlement." The sequence of events by which Augustus' new role was established are well known. In 27, he "transferred the republic from [his] power to the dominion of the senate and people of Rome"; he was then granted his new name and multiple provinces for ten years, which were regularly to be renewed.⁵³ In 23, he surrendered the consulship; now he was a *privatus*, yet one who would wield official authority nevertheless: he was granted tribunician power, possibly annually and perpetually, as well as the right to speak first in the senate; he was awarded *imperium maius* against that of the (other)

⁵¹ RG 4.1 and Dio 54.10.3–4; Dio 54.8.3 mistakenly has Augustus enter the city on horseback (an *ovatio*?), so Rich 1990 *ad loc.*; further, Cassiod. *Chron.* 385. *Recusatio*: Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 36–7. *Ornamenta triumphalia*: Suet. *Tib.* 9.2; Dio 54.24.7; discussion in Abaecherli Boyce 1942; Gordon 1952; Eck 1999b. According to Suet. *Aug.* 73, Augustus not only favored simple furnishings in his house, but often wore *vestis domestica* unless custom dictated otherwise; see the comments of Alföldi 1970: 127–28.

⁵² Ferrary 2001a, 2001b; Cotton and Yakobson 2002.

⁵³ Dio 53.13.1 and 16.2; for the renewal as a reassertion of senatorial and popular sovereignty, see Cotton and Yakobson 2002: 195.

proconsuls, and – what is central to our discussion – he was relieved of the necessity of having that *imperium* renewed whenever he crossed the *pomerium*. Thus, after 23, although Augustus was a *privatus* – that is, he held no public magistracy – he not only controlled a huge army, but held the legal right to enter not only Italy, but the city of Rome, with his *imperium* intact.⁵⁴

Now it has been noted that these changes to Augustus' status seem to have resulted in a genuine loss of power, for while he held "greater *imperium*" with respect to other proconsuls in the provinces, his powers at Rome were manifestly not the equivalent of the consuls'.⁵⁵ At this moment, however, Augustus' exercise of *imperium* and its various competences in Rome were of little practical consequence, since he left for the East early in the following year. In the ensuing period, the political and social situation deteriorated (Girardet 1990: 115–21), and upon his return in 19, things were rectified, in part, by the granting to Augustus of new powers. Among other privileges, he was now awarded that of *iurisdictio* at Rome, and the right to twelve lictors with *fascēs* within the city, just like the consuls, between whom he would sit on public occasions.⁵⁶ The sum of these developments, together with his existing powers, not only rendered Augustus once more the most powerful man in the state, but in 19 they allowed him to exercise both his *imperium* and his *auspicia* within the city and in his provinces – that is, both *domi* and *militiae*. But Augustus already, since 23, had the right to return to the *urbs* with his *imperium* intact – that is, *imperium militiae*, military might, not civil jurisdiction. The new privileges of 19 were not a substitute for those of 23, but an addition, and above all, his new emblems of power (*fascēs* and *sella*) were the manifest confirmation of his extraordinary status, which thus rendered the geographical and functional distinctions about *imperium* moot. The status of *Imperator Caesar Augustus* was now elevated on a new legal foundation, and his right to "cross the *pomerium*" was one of its highly visible distinctions.

⁵⁴ Settlement of 23: Dio 53.32.5, with Brunt 1977: 96; Cotton and Yakobson 2002: 196–97 (on the grant "to allow Augustus' *imperium*, whenever and for as long as he possessed it, not to lapse – as it normally did – when he crossed the *pomerium*"); Syme 1939: 336–38 outlines the political aspects. Thus, henceforth, Augustus' *imperium* was valid in Rome and Italy (even when he was in his provinces: so Cotton and Yakobson 2002: 199). Cf. Eder 1990: 110: after 23, Augustus was "a *privatus*, without office, backed by a huge army; through his *imperium proconsulare* and his *tribunicia potestas*, however, he was so deeply integrated into the administration of the empire that the new *res publica* could operate efficiently without him." Further, Richardson 1991: 8. The situation is excellently summarized in Gruen 2005.

⁵⁵ Jones 1951; Brunt and Moore 1989: 12; Girardet 1990 and 1993; Ferrary 2001b; Hurlet 2001: 171–73; Cotton and Yakobson 2002.

⁵⁶ Dio 54.10.5; Syme 1979: 308; Hurlet 2001: 170–72 (signs of the civil powers of the consulate).

The second of the events of 19 that calls for comment is the restriction of access to the triumph. Now, given Augustus' new prerogative, one of the problems with the triumph was that it allowed, if only for a single day, a special grant of "military" *imperium* to be held within the *pomerium*.⁵⁷ This was purely celebratory, not a matter of legislated status; indeed, Valerius Maximus points out that "it was customary for a general about to celebrate a triumph to invite the consuls to dinner and then to request them not to come, so that on the day of his triumph nobody of higher official rank be at the same dinner table" (2.8.6). But, in a world in which the ceremonial had long held great significance, even the appearance of power posed problems for a monarchy that refused to acknowledge itself. The triumph had to go.

The story of the triumph's appropriation by the imperial house after 19 BC hardly needs retelling.⁵⁸ Yet it should be stressed that one of the pillars on which the curtailment of such honors was erected had long been in place, yet lying dormant on account of the civil wars: the *lex Pompeia de provinciis*.⁵⁹ The reinstatement of some of this law's provisions provided the means for the triumph's demise.⁶⁰ For in 52, acting against corruption (and possibly against Caesar), Pompey had pressed for and obtained a law that decreed a five-year interval between consulship and proconsulship, which technically prevented the consuls from departing for their provinces before the end of their consular year, as holders of a valid *imperium* and *auspicia*, as had long been Republican practice. We have already seen that Caesar had also

⁵⁷ Livy 45.35.4 (Paulus in 167) and 26.21 (Marcellus in 211) give the sequence by which *imperium* was extended: tribunes bring a motion *ad populum* on the authority of the senate.

⁵⁸ Cf. the accounts in Hickson 1991, and recently Itgenshorst 2004: esp. 449–52.

⁵⁹ Dio 40.56.1–3, with Gruen 1995: 457–58, who disputes the notion that the *lex Pompeia* was effected to thwart Caesar (perhaps not, but surely it did); see further Magdelain 1968: 55, noting the consequence that *imperium militiae* would henceforth only be held by promagistrates, since the consuls would no longer depart during their year in office while they were still in possession of the auspices (there were only three exceptions between 51 and 44); extensive discussion in Ferrary 2001b: 105–15; Hurlet 2001: 160–61, with reference to Cic. *Div.* 2.76 and *ND* 2.3.9, where Cicero complains of the promagistrates' lack of the auspices.

⁶⁰ In 27 or 19? Dio 53.14.2 dates this to 27 BC; Suet. *Aug.* 36.1 does not specify a date; see the comments of Hurlet 2001: 200; 173, for the context of 19, although the argument (174) that this rendered the proconsuls incapable of the auspices is contradicted by the case of Cicero (see following note); moreover, after 27, there were only three triumphs: that of Sex. Appuleius in 27, delayed (so Schumacher 1985: 213) although earned in the year following his consulate of 29; that of Atratinus, whose triumph followed his consulate by twelve years; and that of Balbus, who was, however, adlected to the consulship from his status as a *privatus* (so Vell. 2.51.3). Cf. Hurlet 2001: 167 and n. 48 as well as 174 and n. 73, suggesting that his auspices may have been vitiated since he departed Rome while not yet officially a magistrate; it is more likely that, like Cicero in 51, he received a *lex curiata* as a *privatus*. For the *lex Pompeia* as not simply reactivated: Ferrary 2001b: 112; Hickson 1991: 128 suggests that the reorganization of the provincial administration in 27 "was probably the most significant factor in the actual reduction of triumphs," with no mention of the *lex Pompeia*.

endeavored to enforce a separation between consulship and promagistracy in order to deprive the consuls of access to troops. In 27, the renewal of these technicalities was complete, and the consulship was effectively transformed into a civic magistracy. And as a result, the proconsuls would leave for their provinces as *privati*.⁶¹ Thus, their possession of the *auspicia publica* had to be acknowledged by a *lex curiata*, an *ad hominem* piece of legislation passed by the curiate assembly that endowed its recipients with the right to the auspices; if they departed the city without such a law having been passed, when promagistrates entered the military sphere, they possessed none.⁶² As a result, despite the independent *imperium* that accompanied an extraordinary command, and regardless of success on the battlefield, with no *auspicia*, there could be no triumph.⁶³

⁶¹ Consulate as civic magistracy: Magdelain 1968: 51–52; Girardet 1990; Hurlet 2001: 173.

Former consuls summoned to serve: thus Cicero went to Cilicia in 51: so Linderski 1995 (= 1981): 284; see Cic. *Fam.* 8.8.8. Proconsuls depart as *privati* (i.e., with a new grant of *imperium*): Versnel 1970: 187; Hurlet 2001: 173.

⁶² Cf. Magdelain 1968: 51–52: promagistrates depart without *auspicia* or *lex curiata*. This seems the only way to explain the apparent contradiction between a series of testimonia: (i) the refusal of a triumph to Scipio, a *privatus*, in 210 (see Versnel 1970: 169 and n. 5, with sources); (ii) the seeming legitimacy of Cicero's claim to triumph in 50 (Cic. *Fam.* 8.8.8 with Linderski 1995 (= 1981)); (iii) the initial refusal of a triumph to C. Pomptinus on the grounds that *negant... latum de imperio*, although Cicero denies this (Cic. *Att.* 4.18.4, but cf. Staveley 1956: 89); (iv) Appius Claudius' (*cos.* 54) claim that a *lex curiata* was not a requirement for a proconsul to proceed to his province (Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.25, *Q. Frat.* 3.2.3, with Nicholls 1967: 266–67 and Versnel 1970: 337); and (v) the comment of Cicero that “for many years our wars have been conducted by proconsuls and propraetors who do not have the right to take auspices” (*Div.* 2.76). Three things stand out. First, Cicero's complaint about the promagistrates' lack of the auspices must be related to the lack of a *lex curiata*, as the case of Scipio and the avowal of Appius to proceed to his province suggest. Second, promagistrates are known to have triumphed. Pomptinus (*pr.* 63) was appointed as a promagistrate while a *privatus*, and at least according to Cicero, with an unusual *lex curiata* (*latum insulse*); he triumphed, despite objections, in 54. And third, Appius is said by Cicero to declare that he will not only forgo the lot for his province, but will go to Cilicia in 53 *sine lege suo sumptu* (*Att.* 4.18.4), a sham declaration of his independence that was undermined by his attempt to acquire the *lex* by bribery (*Att.* 4.17.2); he was acclaimed in 53 (see Combès 1966: 456) but did not triumph. Thus it must be concluded that promagistrates *might* assume their responsibilities without a *lex curiata* that legitimated their auspices, but in that case a triumph was impossible. Cf. recently the survey in Brennan 2000: 18–20, which outlines the attendant problems; his conclusion, that “the [curiate] law can have conferred only *auspicia militiae*” (19), is to be preferred, given the military context in which the *lex* figures in our sources (*lex de imperio*), to that of Versnel 1970: 350–51, that “it was only by the *lex curiata* that a person was made a regular magistrate.” The *lex curiata* seems to have constituted a formal acknowledgment of powers already conferred (similarly, in part, Versnel 349), and added a grant of *auspicia* that would be valid in the military sphere.

⁶³ Extraordinary commands: Ridley 1981. *Auspicia*: Vell. Pat. 2.115.3 attests the requirement of the *auspicia* for the triumph, and the bestowal of the *ornamenta triumphalia* to *legati* who did not possess them, as was the case for L. Passienus Rufus and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus: see Eck 1984a: 138–39 and Schumacher 1985: 215–16.



Fig 9.9 Parthian Arch of Augustus.
Denarius, Spanish mint (Colonia
Patricia?), c. 18–17 BC.

In fact, not one of the three men who triumphed after 27 was in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the revived Pompeian arrangements. Two – Sextus Appuleius and Sempronius Atratinus – were assigned to their provinces a number of years following their consulates, while Balbus was never a consular. All three assumed their stations in the provinces as *privati cum imperio*, and had clearly been invested by a curiate law, which allowed them to triumph.⁶⁴

Now, all these developments were overshadowed by the third event of 19, the momentous return of the Parthian standards, an event commemorated on the coinage throughout the Roman world (fig. 9.9), in the Forum by the much-discussed arch attested for 19 BC, and, above all, by the statue from Prima Porta, all elements of the new visual language of power.⁶⁵

The arch, despite its customary label, was *not* itself triumphal as a monumental form; that distinction belonged properly to both the chariot statue and the *Fasti* it bore.⁶⁶ Nor was the cuirass-type statue: its selection for the Prima Porta monument presupposes a deliberate rejection of triumphal imagery – an imagery that was in this instance abjured by Augustus and

⁶⁴ Sextus Appuleius, *cos.* 29, triumphed in 26; L. Sempronius Atratinus, *cos. suff.* 34, triumphed in 21; and L. Cornelius P. f. Balbus [RE 70] who was *procos.* in Africa in 21/20, never held the consulate; he was not the *consul suffectus* of 32 referred to by Vell. 2.51.3 (so Groag in RE 4: 1270; *pace* Rich 1990: 203 and Hurlet 1997: 390, n. 108 and 2001: 167, n. 48); this was probably his great uncle (RE 69 [*patruo*] = Plin. HN 5.36); the Velleius passage refers to 48 BC when the younger Balbus was at that point an envoy of Caesar (see Broughton 1951–52: 2.265).

⁶⁵ Prima Porta statue: Rose 2005 surveys the materials and bibliography. I am not persuaded by the down-dating to 17 BC argued by Simon 1991 and Hölscher in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988: 386–87. Visual language of power: Zanker 1988; Wallace-Hadrill 1990.

⁶⁶ Arch: Wallace-Hadrill 1990; Kleiner 1985: 28; Rich 1998. Chariot sculpture and *Fasti*: Hickson 1991: 134.

Agrippa and, from 19 on, effectively refused to others. This *anti*-triumphal theme must have taken precedence in the Prima Porta statue's design and conception, and the choice of the cuirass-type – just as in the case of Caesar's *statua loricata* – allowed Augustus to appear as *imperator* rather than *triumphator*.⁶⁷ This theme was continuously asserted as Augustus not only declined additional triumphs, but also accepted in their stead ever greater *supplicationes* as a vehicle for celebration, and continued to accrue acclamations for the victories of his field commanders earned under his auspices.⁶⁸ The interpretation of these celebrations as “pseudo” or “disguised” triumphs misses the point: just as Augustus no longer needed to hold an official magistracy to wield power, he no longer required that public approbation which signaled its effective employ. Florus had grasped the essence of Augustus' program: “He was so great that a triumph could not elevate him any higher” (2.34).⁶⁹

Finally, careful attention to the significance of the statuary repertory demonstrates as well that there is no reason for the ubiquitous yet tacit assumption that the cuirass-type was chosen for the Prima Porta statue precisely so that its breastplate might bear its symbolic imagery. Indeed, if the presentation of the Parthian narrative had been the sole significant element of the monument, it might have been shown to much greater advantage in relief on the statue's base, as such narratives were on other occasions, such as on the so-called base of Domitius Ahenobarbus or, in symbolic form, as on the base of the Bocchus monument.⁷⁰ The choice of a *statua loricata* must have had other motives.

* * *

The foregoing discussion, it is to be hoped, has suggested one. Upon his return to Rome in 19, Augustus' *imperium consulare* was that vested in him in 27 to be held in his assigned provinces; it was this power that after 23 he was no longer compelled to lay down when he crossed the *pomerium*, his surrender of the consulate notwithstanding.⁷¹ There was no need for Augustus to seek senatorial approval and ratification from the *comitia*

⁶⁷ Contra Hickson 1991: 130–31 (“it was only the triumphal procession and not the image of *triumphator* which Augustus sought to avoid” [131]); cf., however, 132, on the “permanent personal possession” of the *praenomen imperatoris*.

⁶⁸ *Supplicationes*: Billows 1993; Acclamations: Barnes 1974 and Schumacher 1985.

⁶⁹ “Pseudo-triumphs”: Torelli 1982: 54 (apropos of Augustus' *reditus* in 13 bc, and the deposition of the laurel on the Capitol); “disguised triumph”: Settis in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988: 420 (à propos of the Ara Pacis).

⁷⁰ Hölscher 1979; Hölscher in *Kaiser Augustus* 1988: 384–86 (with bibliography).

⁷¹ Contra Torelli 1982: 29–30. The lack of the consulate, and thus technically of *imperium domi*, would cease to be an aspect of imperial rule with Caligula's continuous consulships.

tributa, as there was in the case of the extension of *imperium* required for the celebration of a triumph, nor was there need of a reaffirmation of that power by means of another *lex curiata*, nor, one assumes, a corollary requirement for a renewal of his auspices, whenever Augustus returned to Rome.⁷² So, while the additional powers granted Augustus upon his return in 19 indeed elevated his *civil* status, they did not disguise the real basis of his position, his military *imperium*, which was, in turn, enhanced by the disempowerment of the consulate. After 19, events had insured that Augustus had no rivals in military power, and despite his status as a *privatus*, that he had powers equal to those of the consuls (Girardet 1990). Thus, as the vehicle for the memorialization of the return of the Parthian standards, Augustus' *statua loricata* visibly declared him to be *Imperator Caesar Augustus* at Rome – not simply in his provinces, and, more important, permanently. In contrast to the similar statue of Caesar, an image predicated on the traditionally Republican legal standing of the dictator, Augustus' statue set before the *populus Romanus* the image of his new, unprecedented legal status, and in so doing, rendered obsolete the old notion of a strict division between *domi* and *militiae*. In this way the statue forcefully manifested the new reality of empire, a new meaning of *imperium*, and a new conception of rule (cf. Richardson 1991). This is what it meant for Augustus to “cross the *pomerium*.”

III. Vitellius at the bridge

Finally, and briefly: the argument for a ban on the appearance of a living, armed *imperator* within the *pomerium* takes as one of its most forceful pieces of evidence a famous passage in Tacitus, recounting Vitellius' arrival at Rome on 17 July in the year 69:

Vitellius, mounted on a distinguished horse, wearing the *paludamentum*, and girded by arms, had set out from the Milvian bridge, driving the senate and people before him; but he was dissuaded by his courtiers from entering Rome as if it were a captured city, and so he changed to a senator's toga, arranged his troops in good order, and made his entry on foot. (Tac. *Hist.* 2.89; cf. Suet. *Vit.* 11.1)

⁷² Role of senate and *comitia tributa* in the triumph: Richardson 1975: 58–62. Renewal of auspices: Varro *LL* 5.143 (*pomerium* marking the place where *auspicia urbana finiuntur*); Cic. *Div.* 1.33 (on Ti. Gracchus' violation of augural law, *quod inauspicato pomerium transgressus esset*), with Linderski 1986: 2204–05.

This is held to be a version of the *mutatio vestis*, that exchange of military for civic attire (or the reverse) required to cross the *pomerium*.⁷³ Vitellius abandoned the *paludamentum* and *balteus* – for this is surely the significance of Tacitus' *accinctus* – and donned the *toga praetexta* of a magistrate. Nevertheless, his troops followed him, his thirty-four cohorts “distinguished by the names of their *gens* and their kinds of arms,” and his centurions, “with gleaming arms and decorations.” One imagines, following Tacitus' description, that this would have appeared much like a triumph – save for the obvious lack of the customary chariot and the other requisite *ornamenta*.⁷⁴

While the new emperor's actions acknowledged that the toga was his proper attire in the city, it is clear that this aspect of decorum did not apply to his troops. The solution was clearly a compromise. Why did Vitellius change?

Vitellius was no ordinary general. He had been acclaimed by his troops on the German frontier in January (Tac. *Hist.* 1.56.2), and his status as *imperator* had been recognized by the senate's acclamation on April 19 (celebrated by the Arval Brethren with offerings on May 1, *ob diem imperii*), when he was no doubt also granted tribunician power (celebrated by the Arvals on April 30, *ob comitia tribuniciae potestatis*). So, at his *adventus*, Rome had already bestowed upon him all those powers that had come to signify the position we know today as that of the emperor.⁷⁵

It would seem that these powers were conveyed by *senatus consulta*, and then enacted by comitial legislation, for this is the force of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*.⁷⁶ What survives of this complex statute attests that those powers eventually accumulated by Augustus and his successors were enacted on precedent and bestowed at once upon later emperors, a procedure that can be traced back to Tiberius.⁷⁷ Those who drafted this *lex* were mindful of how, as in the case of Vitellius, there might be a long interval between acclamation by the troops and the essential actions of both senate and people. Thus its eighth clause makes explicit that the *acta, gesta, decreta*,

⁷³ Alföldi 1970: 123–27 = 1934: 5–9; Kleiner 1983: 295–96; Wellesley 2000: 102.

⁷⁴ Cf. Suet. *Vit.* 10.2: “For when he had begun his march [to Rome, after the death of Galba], he rode through the midst of cities as one is conveyed in a triumph.”

⁷⁵ Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.55 (“The senate at once [upon receiving the news of Vitellius' acclamation] voted for Vitellius all the honors that had been devised during the long reigns of other emperors”), with Brunt 1977: 100–01 and Scheid 1992: 230.

⁷⁶ Brunt 1977, suggesting its correspondence to *senatus consulta*; comitial legislation: Crawford, in *Roman Statutes*, I: 550; *lex rogata*: Hurlet 1993: 265; Scheid 1992: 237: the Princes “exerce ses fonctions par la volonté du peuple romain”; further, Nicolet 1988.

⁷⁷ Dio 53.18.4: “bestowed upon the emperors at one and the same time”; Brunt 1977: 98.

and *imperata* effected during the interim were to be recognized as both lawful and binding, “just as if they had been undertaken according to the order of the people or plebs.”⁷⁸ Moreover, since the *lex*’s seventh clause appears to exempt the new emperor from any “obligation to observe those laws from which his predecessors had been freed,” when it is considered in combination with clause eight, it leads one to assume that something similar obtained upon Vitellius’ acclamation in 69. Thus, when he entered Rome, even before legislation granted the traditional powers and prerogatives of his new office, he might be free to exercise them.

Among these powers and prerogatives was, as we have already seen, *imperium*, held and exercised both *domi* and *militiae*, and the consequent right to “cross the *pomerium*” without its diminution. What is more, Tacitus’ detailed account makes no mention of Vitellius retaking the auspices upon his entry to the city;⁷⁹ thus, his *auspicia* were also valid, both *domi* and *militiae*. So, upon his arrival with his troops at Rome, despite the obviously military character of his claim to rule, the senators appealed to tradition, and tradition prevailed. The new emperor’s *mutatio vestis* was not a matter of public or augural law, but of established precedent, one enshrined in the custom that decreed that the centuriate assembly meet outside the *pomerium*.⁸⁰ In the truest imperial fashion, just as Augustus had claimed “to accept no office contrary to custom” (*RG* 6.1) and yet assumed unprecedented powers, so Vitellius bowed to the *mos maiorum* that bade him change his garb, yet asserted *another* imperial tradition, one that declared that his power to command was valid at home as well as abroad. He too, like all emperors after Tiberius, and all who would follow, held the right to “cross the *pomerium*.”

⁷⁸ Brunt 1977: 106, dating the clause’s warrant to the time of Vitellius.

⁷⁹ For the requirement, see Cic. *ND* 2.10–11, *Div.* 1.33, 2.74, with Mommsen 1887: 100–03; Linderski 1986: 2204.

⁸⁰ Cf. Versnel 1970: 353 on Gell. 15.27.5.

In June 68, the thirty-year-old emperor Nero fled from Rome when the praetorian guard revoked its loyalty and proclaimed the governor of Hispania Tarraconensis emperor. The following day he committed suicide. Nero was the first emperor who was defied by a victorious pretender and who lost the throne during his lifetime – within his capital of Rome. This process demands an explanation. What were the conditions that made it possible? How were the “key sectors” of the Roman citizenry – the Senate, the urban plebs, the Roman citizen-army – involved in this downfall? What we have to scrutinize is the historical anomaly of a monarchy in which the monarch could lose his right to rule while he was still alive. What we need, in other words, is a theory of the Roman Principate.

Ever since Mommsen and von Premerstein, we have lacked coherent theories about the political structure of the Roman monarchy. My starting point is simple. Political systems are best understood by considering their deepest crises. In the Roman monarchy, these were the violent changes of emperors. In the first half of this essay, I would like briefly to articulate a new theory of the Roman monarchy, one that allows us to understand why a Roman emperor could fall.¹ Let us begin with some reflections on the relevant conceptual problems. I will proceed in seven steps.

I. Acceptance and legitimacy

Step One. The concept of “acceptance” and that of “legitimacy” must be distinguished from one another. In order to clarify these concepts, we have to ask two questions concerning the concept of legitimacy. In particular, we have to distinguish between the legitimacy of a ruler and the legitimacy of a governmental system. In order to keep this distinction clear, we must avoid the Weberian definition of legitimacy (although it is excellent) and keep to the classical tradition.

¹ Examined in greater detail in Flaig 1992.

If applied to the role of the person who governs, Weberian legitimacy is only one of three possible meanings. The other two were formed by the political philosophy of the early modern period and by the *staatsrechtliche* tradition beginning at the end of the seventeenth century. Legitimacy had been understood in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries (by Talleyrand, for example) as the uncontested right to govern and to do so without the possibility of this right being revoked. Legitimacy had also been defined by constitutionalist philosophers (since the time of Marsilius, but more strongly beginning with Locke) as the uncontested right to govern, whereby this right is granted by an institution that can, according to procedural rules, both invest and revoke that right.² Mommsen used the concept of legitimacy in both of these senses.

Weber intended to cover all forms of accepted “rule” (*Herrschaft*, not “power”) in the sense that all imaginable forms of rule can be conceived as variants within a field marked by three extreme corners: charismatic, legal-rational, and traditional (Weber 1980: 122–25). This theoretical inventory has remained unchallenged. Weber considerably changed the meaning of the concept of legitimacy. In his work, it becomes a signifier for the right to rule from the standpoint of the ruled. As a result, this right depends heavily on the authority-type, i.e., on the specific mode of obedience. So we have three different concepts expressed by a single word. This analytical range is crucial. It is evident that the Weberian concept can be applied to political systems in their entirety (the ruled can refuse to continue to accept the system) and to ruling persons, whereas the other two concepts can only be applied to ruling persons who act within an uncontested framework. But what does legitimacy mean if it refers not to a ruling person but to a political system? It means that the form of government is itself uncontested. Stable monarchies can be identified by this characteristic feature: they are not contested, insofar as all relevant sectors always expect a monarch to govern the state.

On the basis of these distinctions we can easily grasp our central problem. There are plenty of monarchies in which the monarch can lose the right to govern. He can be defied or even deposed or overthrown and replaced by another person who can be qualified in various ways to take his position. In these types of monarchy, clearly the legitimacy of a ruler – i.e., his right to rule – can be lost, but even if he is replaced, the continuity of the monarchy

² The subject of *Legitimität* is treated as an aspect of juridical history by Hofmann 1980; Rammstedt 1976: 110; Württenberger 1973: 195 ff.: 688–710, 721 ff.

as such remains uninterrupted and undisputed. The monarchic system itself remains completely legitimate.

Step Two. It was Mommsen who asserted that there was no legitimacy at all in the Roman monarchy. The starting point of his famous analysis was that there was hardly any other monarchy in world history to which the notion of legitimacy was so completely alien as it was to the Roman Principate. As he famously declared, “Es hat wohl nie ein Regiment gegeben, dem der Begriff der Legitimität so völlig abhanden gekommen wäre wie dem augusteischen Prinzipat” (Mommsen 1887: 2.844). He attempted to treat the violent exchanges of emperors by interpreting them as periodic reiterations of the original revolutionary uprising whereby Caesar and Augustus had taken power. In plain terms, Mommsen wanted to avoid the idea that a usurpation or even the most simple imperial succession could be thought of as “an exchange of one person by another.” He was aware that the notion of “exchange” already presupposed the fixed, and stable, position to which a person could be elevated. But as soon as this fixed and stable position exists, the concept of legitimacy – in either of the two senses discussed above – cannot be bypassed, and Mommsen did not want to get trapped in a logical contradiction. So he asserted that the Principate died with each emperor, and with each new emperor began anew. Each emperor, that is, started “from scratch.”

Clearly this is a mythical construction.³ But Mommsen had to resort to it because otherwise he would not have been able to defend his politico-juridical construction of a fundamental continuity of all the central politico-juridical notions in Roman history – from the epoch of the kings to the beginning of late antiquity. And indeed, if each emperor, by taking power, were really repeating Augustus’ “revolutionary act,” as Mommsen argued, then the emperor’s position would have been due to an “illegal” action (though simultaneously a legitimate one, by force of the people’s sovereignty), and the monarchy would have been juridically non-existent, and therefore illegitimate.⁴

Step Three. Mommsen attempted to demonstrate that the Roman monarchy was devoid of legitimacy in both (classical) senses of the term. He claimed that with the death of every *princeps*, the principate died, too.

³ In effect, Mommsen creates an *Ursprungsmythos* of the Roman monarchy; for further elaboration of this topic, see Flaig 1997.

⁴ Interestingly enough it was only Heuss who agreed with Mommsen’s thesis in all its radicality and called the principate a “dictatorship” in the modern sense of the term: “seinem verfassungspolitischen Ansatz nach eine notdürftig verhüllte Diktatur (*im modernen, nicht altrömischen Sinn*)” (Heuss 1964: 340, author’s emphasis; cf. Heuss 1973: 65).

If this were correct, then the principate would not be an institutionalized monarchy, but rather a succession of individual principates. Unfortunately, Mommsen's concept is wrong, both empirically and theoretically. For there never was any attempt, at the death of an emperor, to do away with the monarchic system in Rome and to reinstall an oligarchic government. Therefore the Roman monarchy was far more "legitimate" than many other monarchies in world history.

So the question whether a specific form of rule is legitimate or not is totally different from the question of whether an individual ruler is legitimate or not. Mommsen is right, however, when he insists that Roman emperors were never legitimate (evidently he uses the concept in the classical sense, not the Weberian one). Indeed, Roman emperors could lose their right to rule. And if they did lose this right, it was taken away from them not by the decision of an institution, but rather by a violent process. So we need a new term to describe the fact that Roman emperors normally ruled with an undisputed right to rule. I propose the term "acceptance." Now, if this term is to be used as a real category, it must address the problem outlined by Mommsen. And its definition must have explanatory force. I therefore offer the following definition: "acceptance" is to be defined as the fact that the relevant sectors of a political community support the rule of a specific person by their explicit or implicit consent.

Step Four. By taking up Mommsen's problem but rejecting his mythical construction, a new theory of the Roman Principate seems to emerge: the monarchy was legitimate, but the emperor was not legitimate; instead, he had to be "accepted." And if this acceptance was lost, the emperor fell, losing his position (and his life). That is to say, neither did there exist any institution that could, according to procedural rules, revoke the emperor's right to govern, nor was his right to govern above and beyond any doubt (as it was for the kings of France, who never had to face an attempt to deprive them of their inherited right to govern). Therefore, the phenomenon of usurpation is the very kernel of the political system and the key to comprehending and conceptualizing the Roman monarchy. And it is a clear index of how far the new form of government was from that of the Republic (irrespective of the ritually commemorated continuity). I will elaborate on this aspect later.

Step Five. Now let us take a closer look at the problem of dynastic legitimation, frequently discussed by scholars, but often dealt with in an awkward way. In the Roman monarchy there was no dynastic legitimacy. Otherwise, the life of Claudius could not have been endangered when Caligula was murdered, nor could Nero have been deposed. It is impossible to understand

the notion of dynastic legitimacy by focusing our attention on the Roman cases alone. History as an academic discipline is not possible without comparison. Only by comparative procedures can our inventory of concepts become theoretically founded and empirically efficient. If we compare the Roman monarchy to other monarchies with real dynastic legitimacy, such as the Danish, French, Ottoman, or even Spartan monarchies, the difference becomes quite clear. Whenever a Roman emperor fell, his sons, without exception, always fell with him. This cannot happen in monarchies with dynastic legitimation. The Ottoman case illustrates the difference. If the Sultan was deposed and killed, only his sons were qualified to rule.

It may be objected at this point that the sons of Roman emperors normally became the successors of their fathers. That is true. But this is quite normal for any monarchic system in world history, and it is not at all the result of a specific dynastic legitimacy. This circumstance is easily explained by using the concept of "acceptance." As long as the emperor maintained his acceptance, his sons had no problems in being accepted as successors. The logical consequence is clear. The smooth succession of the sons depended on the ongoing acceptance, by the relevant sectors of the political community, of the father. Thus there was a clear prerequisite for efficient and unproblematic dynastic succession. And it is precisely this prerequisite that is not necessary – that does not even exist, in fact – in monarchies with dynastic legitimacy, as the Ottoman case vividly illustrates.

Step Six. A salient feature of the Roman monarchy concerns the mode of succession. The monarch was never deposed by institutional procedures, but was instead violently replaced. This violent exchange could take the form of an assassination, with one emperor being killed and another being elevated to the vacant throne. It could also take the form of a usurpation. In such cases, the emperor was openly defied during his lifetime by a rival who either defeated him militarily and took his position, or succumbed. This form of violent exchange is crucial. Usurpation makes the Roman monarchy a specific variant on the scale of all those monarchies that allow for the violent exchange of rulers. This requires a taxonomy based on comparative historical sociology.

In all monarchies in which the relevant sectors of the political community maintain loyalty towards their ruler as long as the ruler is alive, there can be no usurpation. This is because nobody would dare to defy the ruler openly as long as there was no chance to win over the relevant sectors of the political community. In this case the monarch has to be killed, either secretly or within the narrow space of the palace, before the new monarch

can be presented to the public (as in the Ottoman case); or the monarch could not be exchanged at all (as in the French case).

Step Seven. Now we can specify the notion of “acceptance.” Taken as a proper category, this notion implies that there must be specific groups that have to accept the person of the ruler. It is clear that, in hierarchical societies, not all social groups are equally important in this respect. Only specific groups or classes of persons matter. As these classes of persons normally do not constitute a social group or class in the strict sociological sense, I call them “relevant political sectors.” From a comparative historical perspective, there can be a great variety among such relevant political sectors: the European nobility differs from the Japanese one, the Catholic clergy differs from the Buddhist one, and so on. Political systems vary significantly with regard to these relevant political sectors, because they display different sociological characteristics and even numbers. The Roman Principate counted three relevant sectors: (i) the senatorial aristocracy, (ii) the *plebs urbana* of the capital, and (iii) that half of the Roman army made up of Roman citizens. Other monarchies counted even fewer relevant sectors. Therefore the notion of “acceptance” has to be modified according to historical particularities. Roman emperors had to build up and maintain their good image in the eyes of these three sectors, and to entertain very special relationships with each of them. And if these relationships deteriorated, the emperor could lose his position and was bound to fall.

The reflections summarized in these seven steps have important heuristic consequences. It is awkward to link the phenomenon of usurpation to the Republican *Staatsrecht*, as Mommsen did. For Mommsen, usurpation was directly related to the notion of the people’s sovereignty. But Republican *Staatsrecht* was not responsible for usurpation. It was the political structure of a monarchy in which the monarch was exposed to, and the object of, the expectations – and urgent demands – of precisely defined sectors of the political community.

It was Veyne who paved the way to grasping the Roman monarchy in these terms. In his great 1976 book *Le pain et le cirque*, he disentangled the Roman monarchy from the claws of German *Staatsrecht*. Furthermore, he raised central questions along Weberian lines. What behavioral norms had to be fulfilled by the emperor? What expectations could not be disappointed? Finally, he differentiated between different “*modalités d’obéissance*,” that of the senators and that of the urban plebs. This approach allowed him to discover very specific types of obedience which could not be grasped as long as the old *clientela* concept of imperial power prevailed. Veyne thus put

into the foreground the notion of honor, which has been a central heuristic notion in ancient history ever since.⁵

What is more, this approach permits us to ask, in a Bourdieuesque manner: What type of honor? Honor has to be modified according to the specific social group that demands it. Since Veyne connected political obedience to honor, he was able to outline a web of relations and co-relations between (i) the self-esteem that particular groups require, (ii) the effective recognition these groups receive from other groups, and (iii) the emperor's role in finding a balance between matching or frustrating such demands for honor. Such issues of communication between important sectors of society have acquired a greater importance than ever in current research. Veyne also had to fit the relationship between the emperor and the senators into a new design, which has now become commonplace. He strongly refuted the notion that there was a rivalry between the emperor and the senate. There never was such a rivalry for two reasons. First, because the senators knew all too well how indispensable the monarchy was for internal peace, and second, because they were fierce rivals among themselves and therefore needed the emperor to mitigate their internal struggles.

Veyne's final step was to outline the "rules of communication" between different groups (especially *plebs urbana* and senate) and the emperor – the situations, rites, and modalities of communication. In this system of communication, the aristocracy, as under the Republic, had not only to assert itself as the leading class, but also to demonstrate respect for the people (and for the legions). The emperor had to act in a similar way, since he could lose his popularity if he disregarded the rules of communication.⁶ This conceptual framework permits us to ask where the limits of obedience to the emperor were, and what the norms, values, and behavioral patterns that bound the emperor's image were.

As the public persona of the monarch was so dependent on its acceptance by important sectors, a great part of the political process in the Roman empire consisted in mutual expressions of consent. For this reason the Roman monarchy made incredibly wasteful expenditures in order to have special buildings where the monarch could communicate face-to-face with 150,000 Roman citizens assembled at the circus, or 45,000 citizens at the amphitheater, or 15,000 at the theater. Veyne described this ceremonial context as a case in which the Roman emperor used the citizens of his capital as other monarchs would use courtiers. He estimated that emperors

⁵ See Flaig 1997: 67–91, 122–26, 142–52; Lendon 1997: 31–58, 69–73, 84–89.

⁶ Veyne does not deal with the phenomenon of usurpation. But the logical consequence of his thesis is that the emperor, in the long run, could always lose support and fall.

in the first century spent about one-fifth of their governing time in the circus, theater, or amphitheater. Within the framework of these ludic rituals, the *princeps* and the citizens of the capital exchanged their greetings, their mutual sympathy, or even their discontent.

Veyne did not address the question of why emperors could fall, but he did offer an inventory of concepts to find answers. I have taken up his theory and changed two main points (Flaig 1992). First, I have replaced the term "legitimacy" with the concept of "acceptance," in order to avoid any entanglement with notions stemming from the *Staatsrecht* approach. And second, I made Veyne's triangle – emperor, *plebs urbana*, and senate – a parallelogram: emperor, *plebs urbana*, senate, and citizen soldiers. Taking his theoretical framework seriously, however, I was led to offer an analysis of the ludic ceremony that differed from his.⁷ It is highly plausible to conceive of this communication in strictly political terms, alongside the list of topics already set up by Yavetz in his *Plebs and Princeps*.⁸ My conclusions implied that we have to interpret the communication taking place in the context of the *ludi* as an enactment of the *consensus universorum*; during the *ludi* all partners confirmed their political consent through their ritualized behavior. Ever since the late Republic, the behavior of the people during the *ludi* had been a highly respected index for the popularity of high-ranking senators and magistrates. From the time of Augustus, these ludic rituals provided the framework for an institutionalized meeting of the emperor, the senatorial aristocracy, and the citizenry of the capital. This implies that any disturbances had to be taken as an expression of discontent and as a defiance of the rulers, urging them to respond. What Veyne interpreted as rules of politeness or etiquette are transformed in my conception into expected performances within a system of political communication. For example, if the *plebs* refused to applaud during the games, this refusal was to be taken as a serious signal and as an attempt to remind the misbehaving emperor of his proper duties.

II. The fall of Nero

Now I want to show how this theoretical framework can be put into operation by considering a concrete example. How could Nero, a very popular

⁷ I largely follow the analysis of Clavel-Lévêque 1984: 12 ff., 23–36, 40 ff., 47 ff., 71 ff., 126 ff., 141 ff.

⁸ Yavetz 1969a, esp. 21–36. Unfortunately, Yavetz makes too much use of the doubtful theoretical framework of "mass psychology."

emperor, lose acceptance within eight years? He enjoyed overwhelming popularity when he began to rule. But from the year 59 on, he was steadily losing ground, first with the *plebs urbana*, and then with the praetorian guard and parts of the senatorial order. In the city of Rome, for the second time after Caligula, another emperor was unable to maintain his popularity or even the basic authority that was indispensable for a ruler to govern in an expected manner within his own capital. Ultimately, he lost the acceptance of some élites in certain Romanized provinces and – more important still – of the legions.⁹

One year after the murder of Agrippina, Nero celebrated the *Neroniana*. During the games, the plebs was for the first time reticent to applaud, and even openly refused to applaud. Tacitus gives his own explanation, which is, as always, hostile to the plebs, and therefore of limited historical value. But he mentions the fact that, after these games, many persons in Rome stopped dressing in a Greek style. This information is crucial. Dressing in a Greek style had apparently become an outward sign of approval for Nero's "Grecomania." And now the citizenry of the capital clearly opposed this un-Roman fashion. Public opinion was about to change.

This first conflict between the young *princeps* and the public in the capital induced Nero to create a special gang of 5000 young *equites*, called the *Augustani*, whose task it was to applaud whenever the emperor was giving games (Tac. *Ann.* 14.15). This organized clique applauded even when the large majority of the spectators held back their applause. Clearly they were simulating the popular consent that was in fact absent. The result was that the *plebs urbana* could no longer express its discontent by refusing to applaud within the theater, because one-third of the spectators, the 5,000 *Augustani*, would always applaud. So the interaction between *princeps* and plebs was interrupted.¹⁰ The *Augustani* practically substituted for the *plebs*

⁹ Most scholars insist that Nero never lost his popularity. But this view depends on the summarizing verdicts of the ancient historiographic texts, which is an untenable hermeneutic procedure. To avoid being trapped by this historiographic discourse, it is necessary to reconstruct the relationship between the emperor and each particular "group." Even if we are unable to reconstruct detailed events (ontologically impossible, of course, because the billionfold aspects of reality cannot be reproduced), we are able to determine the types of relationships that worked and intermingled. The key procedure for this is the "praxeological method" developed by Bourdieu. It is necessary to analyze the scenes of interaction between the emperor and the *plebs urbana*. "Praxeology" is adaptable if the historiographic material is not too scarce and offers at least some "events." An example of the hermeneutic bias is provided by Griffin, according to whom, "The plebs were loyal to the end and beyond" (1984: 186). As a result of this assumption, the chapters dealing with the downfall of Nero's reign remain below the standard of the rest of her book. They also suffer, in conceptual terms, from ignoring Yavetz and Veyne. Champlin (2003: 1–35) repeats some old errors; see Coleman 2005: 545–50.

¹⁰ See further Flaig 2002.

urbana. And we may suppose that, in the long run, the citizens of the capital did not accept being denied their prerogative to express or refuse consent.

In the year 60, after the *Neroniana*, a comet appeared. Comets were normally taken as omens announcing disasters or the death of a monarch. A rumor arose in Rome that Nero's rule would soon be over. In Rome, rumors used to be political symptoms, because the *plebs urbana* was the master of rumors. Certain types of information could only become rumors in Rome if the *plebs urbana* took the information as plausible and important.¹¹ This particular rumor was very dangerous because it provoked the question of who would succeed Nero as emperor. The name of the supposed candidate was openly pronounced: Rubellius Plautus, descended from Augustus in the same degree as Nero. The emperor could not help but ask Plautus politely to leave Rome and choose voluntary exile in Asia Minor. Unfortunately for the young Plautus, two years later a new rumor emerged in Rome, which said that this exiled candidate to the throne had taken refuge with the Syrian legions under the command of Corbulo, and that Corbulo was going to march on Rome in order to depose Nero and install Plautus as emperor.¹² This time Nero could not avoid having Rubellius Plautus executed.

If we analyze the event, it becomes clear that, for the first time, Nero executed a person of senatorial rank, and that he did so only because of a rumor. But Nero had no chance of escaping this act. The rumor forced him to murder a potential candidate to the throne, one who had become a candidate through the mere fact that the rumor had elevated him to this position. The now unpopular emperor felt attacked; and rightly so, for it was his very lack of popularity that exposed Nero to rumors in the first place. The political consequences were disastrous. The unpopular emperor was

¹¹ Champlin 2003 focuses on the role of myth and image-making, but he does so without elaborating conceptually the social mechanisms of discursive power (and powerlessness). If one analyzes how this "image-making" works, however, as Veyne has outlined, then it becomes clear that social and political constraints are always necessarily limiting the efficacy of images and image-making. There does not exist any systematic study about the working of rumors in ancient societies; I have outlined a sketch, taking the rumors against Nero as a paradigm: Flaig 2003b.

¹² Tac. Ann. 14.58: *vulgoque fingeant petiit ab eo Corbulonem, magnis tum exercitibus praesidentem et, clari atque insontes si interficerentur, praecipuum ad pericula; quin et Asiam favore iuvenis arma cepisse*. According to Tacitus, the rumor emerged that Nero had sent soldiers to kill Plautus. His narrative, then, implies that the urban citizens were informed about the emperor's order to have Plautus executed. This supposition is absurd. On the contrary, the senators and the plebs only heard about the murder after it had been committed. In fact, both groups learned about it when the emperor wrote his letter to the senate pretending that Plautus had been a rebel against the *res publica* (Ann. 15.59.4). It is logically impossible that a rumor of that kind could appear after the assassination of a virtual successor. Tacitus often changed the sequence of events, and he did so here too; see Flaig 2003b.

forced to commit political crimes in order to feel secure, but by committing these crimes he alienated himself from the high-ranking senators and from the citizens of the capital, and thus destroyed even further the basis of his own rule.¹³

Furthermore, in this very year (62), Nero divorced Octavia. The divorce provoked very harsh reactions from the *plebs urbana*. The plebs temporarily stopped venerating the gods by refusing to sacrifice – an act that was most hostile towards the government, because the emperor was held responsible for maintaining the *pax deorum*. By its religious strike, the plebs inflicted damage on the *pax deorum*.¹⁴

The next great conflict occurred in 64 when Rome was burning. A popular rumor accused the emperor of having sung the destruction of Troy on the stage of his palace while the blaze was destroying the *urbs*.¹⁵ It got even worse. After five days, the fire seemed to have been defeated, but then it started anew. And this time the *plebs urbana* suspected the emperor of having given orders to the praetorian prefect Tigellinus to set fire to the

¹³ I strongly disagree with Rudich 1993, who tries to squeeze the political events and intellectual culture of Neronian Rome into the framework of a modern dictatorship. He repeats the same scheme in his later book (Rudich 1997). In spite of all the literary erudition in Rudich's work, the disregard for much of the work that has been done over the last thirty years leads to simplistic anachronisms. Nero was not Stalin.

¹⁴ Tac. Ann. 14.60.5–61.1: *tamquam Nero paenitentia flagitii coniugem revocarit Octaviam. Exim laeti Capitolium scandunt deosque tandem venerantur. Effigies Poppaeae proruunt, Octaviae imagines gestant umeris, spargunt floribus foroque ac templis statuunt. Igitur etiam in principis laudes strepitu venerantium. Iamque et Palatium multitudine et clamoribus complebant, cum emissi militum globi verberibus et intento ferro turbatos disiecerent.*

¹⁵ Tac. Ann. 15.39.3: *quia pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium.* Nero had tried to build up an imperial "image" of his own. This is typical of almost all monarchies. In fact, every Roman emperor underscored the special features of his own "performances" which distinguished him from his predecessor. The different groups within the empire that felt themselves addressed by this "style" quickly formed their own *imago* – their condensed judgment – of the emperor. Such a "style" might collide with the expectations of the main political sectors of the empire. As these expectations were formed by traditional Roman values as well as by the "good examples" established by accepted predecessors, there was simply no space for the role Nero tried to play: charioteers and actors were socially and legally despised and discriminated against. Indeed, Nero had performed as an actor on a public stage for the first time in spring 64; from 62 the mint of Rome had been issuing coins showing Apollo as Citharoedus, which could be taken as representing Nero himself (see Mayer, this volume). The cultural background is outlined in Bergmann 1994: 27–30, and broadly discussed in Elsner and Masters 1994. Ample material on the "styling of imperial behavior" can be found in Bartsch 1994, esp. chs. 1 and 2. Unfortunately, all these investigations leave out the problem of the *marge de manoeuvre* of imperial acting. All the efforts the emperor made to enforce his *imago* were repudiated. The political incompatibility between the Neronian style of ruling and the expectations of the *plebs urbana* and army are underscored in detail in Flaig 1992, 1999, and 2003b.

city.¹⁶ The emperor tried to relieve the suffering of the city's inhabitants, but his attempts to behave like a good *patronus* were in vain, because the rumor accused him of being an incendiary.¹⁷ Nero tried to find a way out of the political trap in which he was caught: he put the blame on the Christians and began persecuting them. They suffered the most cruel punishments. He had chosen an excellent scapegoat, one that could not count on any sympathy. But, atypically, the scapegoat mechanism did not work. Tacitus did not doubt that the Christians deserved what they got, but he added that the plebs showed *miseratio*. Why did the scapegoat mechanism fail? Tacitus says that the plebs was thinking that the Christians did not die *pro salute publica* but in order to satisfy the *saevitia* of the emperor.¹⁸ The plebs obstinately refused to believe that the Christians had burnt the city, because for them it was clear that Nero had done it. So they pitied the despised Christians for being sacrificed by the real criminal. This was a "point of no return" in the relationship between the plebs and the emperor. Henceforth, Nero was considered a matricide and the destroyer of the *urbs*. The plebs practically declared Nero to be the worst enemy of mankind, deserving the most cruel punishment.

Nine months later the Pisonian conspiracy was discovered. Nero could not help realizing the extent of the hatred against his rule and his person, particularly from the officers of the praetorian guard. Among the soldiers, the *imago* of the emperor attracted hate and open contempt. This attitude can best be grasped in an answer given by an officer of the guard who had a leading role in the conspiracy. When Nero asked him why he had broken his oath, the officer replied that there was no soldier more loyal to the emperor, as long as he deserved to be loved, but that he began to hate Nero after he had become the murderer of his mother and his wife, a charioteer, an actor, and an incendiary.¹⁹

The praetorian's answer offers a catalog of some deadly sins each Roman had to avoid. The officer did not blame Nero for lacking military glory. His blame referred instead to a trespassing of the fundamental moral norms

¹⁶ Tac. Ann. 15.40.2: *plusque infamiae id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigellini Aemilianis proruperat videbaturque Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere.*

¹⁷ Tac. Ann. 15.44.2: *sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iussum incendium crederetur.*

¹⁸ Tac. Ann. 15.44.5: *unde quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritis miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumeretur.*

¹⁹ Tac. Ann. 15.67.2: *oderam te, inquit, nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti: odisse coepi, postquam parricida matris et uxoris, auriga et histrio et incendiarius extitisti!*

of the Roman family and culture. Every Roman citizen, soldier or civilian, shared those norms and values. This event offers insights into the interaction between the different sectors of the political community. The praetorian guard was not immune to what happened in Rome. Indeed, it had been witnessing the steady loss of Nero's popularity. But the judgments about the worthiness of an emperor did not necessarily converge, as the case of Domitian shows. The growing discontent with Domitian did not affect the praetorians because they respected him highly for his military achievements.²⁰ So the plebs and the senate had, after some years, a different perception of Domitian than the troops had.²¹ That is why Domitian could not be overthrown by a usurpation: he had to be killed in his palace. The case of Nero is different, and this explains the strong involvement of officers in the Pisonian conspiracy. As a result, the "dirty job" of arresting conspirators and bringing the death sentence to bear on them was particularly entrusted to newly recruited soldiers, as Tacitus says.²² Now, arresting and putting to death a *hostis publicus* was not at all dishonorable, but doing so to protect an unworthy emperor seemed to be.

It is understandable that the year 66 brought some relief, because the Roman government was successful in that year in settling the Armenian question. And it was impossible for the *plebs urbana* to stand aside when Nero had his *adventus* in Rome with the Armenian king by his side.²³ The Roman citizens had to celebrate a political victory of Rome, even if this victory was appropriated by an evil emperor. But this event did not change their fundamental attitude towards Nero.

When the legions of the western provinces broke away from Nero in the spring of 68, the emperor called strong forces from Illyria and the Danubian provinces for help. But these troops defected after the battle of Vesoncio, so that Nero's military support in Italy shrank to the praetorian guard and the naval troops. In this emergency he called for help in Rome and organized a *dilectus* of the *plebs urbana*.²⁴ From a military standpoint, this measure was futile, because those hastily armed citizens were no match for the regular troops. But from a political standpoint, such a *dilectus* was not completely

²⁰ Suet. *Dom.* 23.1. There was no opportunity to challenge Domitian by means of a usurpation, as the case of Antonius Saturninus illustrates; see Flaig 1992: 428–34, 443–49.

²¹ Suet. *Dom.* 10.1; cf. Clavel-Lévêque 1984: 114.

²² The commentary of Tacitus (*nam vetus miles timebatur tamquam favor imbutus*: *Ann.* 15.59.4) hides the fact that honor was at stake.

²³ Suet. *Nero* 13; Dio 63.2.4, 3.4–5.1

²⁴ Suet. *Vit.* 15.1 and, with more detail, Tac. *Hist.* 3.58.1 ff. See discussion in Yavetz 1969b; Flaig 1992: 389–93.

senseless. It could be taken as a ritualized act of *consensus* towards the emperor.

This aspect becomes clearer if we compare this Neronian event to a parallel event some months later. In November 69, the emperor Vitellius tried to mobilize the sympathy of the *plebs urbana* by calling the citizens to a *dilectus* when the Flavian troops were approaching the city. He did so with impressive success: the citizens rushed to enlist for the defense of their emperor. When Nero did so, by contrast, it was a complete failure. Suetonius informs us that practically nobody enlisted when Nero convoked the people by *tribus*: “he called for the urban *tribus* in order to recruit soldiers, but no suitable citizen appeared; therefore he ordered the masters to hand out a prescribed number of slaves” (*Nero* 44.1). The difference is striking. By refusing to obey the call for the *dilectus*, the *plebs urbana* symbolically “defected” from the emperor and made his “bankruptcy” visible to the whole of Italy. And this was the signal for the praetorians to give the *coup de grâce*. They did so on June 8. The relationship between a Roman emperor and the citizenry of his capital counted heavily. It is true that a high popularity with the *plebs urbana* could not save an emperor who had lost acceptance with the legions. But without being accepted within his capital, no emperor could maintain his rule.

The plan of the city of Rome appears as a series of monumental quarters featuring fora, temples, theaters, and palaces as destinations for ancient and modern visitors alike. Rendered invisible are the humble places in between: the less desirable residential districts, artisans' quarters, shops and stalls spilling out of the Forum and up from the Tiber's wharves. Stray comments in the ancient literary sources refer to the building up and tumbling down of these quarters, yet our picture of the neighborhoods remains tentative, as does our knowledge of intermittent imperial intervention or neglect of these areas. Unsightly places of commerce and manufacture were displaced to the edges of the city while the center became clotted with administrative buildings and imperial monuments (see Zanker, this volume). We tend to think of the city developing incrementally through the building programs of each emperor, but there was also an aspect of the urban environment that changed year-in and year-out with the calendar: the temporary structures erected for the celebration of holidays and festivals.¹ Tents, awnings, and platforms provided shelter and vantage points for these events staged amidst the most venerable monuments of the city and also on its fringes. Here, too, the sources are terse, but both literary testimony and representations on coins offer some evidence because of the imperial supervision of the festivities.²

What we may call the "fugitive" cityscape, that is, the fleeting vistas of makeshift booths for fairs or elaborate pavilions for public feasting, provided opportunities for the emperor to make his mark on the urban plan of Rome quickly, incisively, and relatively inexpensively (although even ephemera required adornment that could run up great sums, as we shall see).³ As vehicles for imperial representation, these temporary structures,

¹ The standard works on the calendar of Roman festivals are Fowler 1899 and Scullard 1981, which collect the literary evidence. Interest in the spectacle of court festivals in early modern Europe has recently turned to the role of architecture, much of it temporary construction: see Mulryne *et al.* 2004.

² For sources on the imperial funeral, see Price 1987: 56, n. 1.

³ For the booths set up for the Saturnalia (which block landmarks and thus alter the cityscape, according to the satirist), see Juv. *Sat.* 6.153–55. For discussion of the public banquet of the Saturnalia as depicted in Statius, see Newlands 2002: 227–44.

put up like theatrical props only to be struck down within days, would seem to have little visibility and, therefore, value. Their central role in the festivities as the focus of processions and rites, however, imprinted them on the public memory long after the holiday was over.⁴ Commemorated by poets and represented on monuments and coins, these events had a second life, especially when the ceremony culminated in dramatic scenes such as an inferno that burned the pyre in imperial funerals.⁵ That such devices went up in smoke rendered them unforgettable and, perhaps, etched them in memory even more sharply than the familiar scenery of one's neighborhood. We need to keep in mind the heightened atmosphere of the ceremonies or festivals and imagine how the crowds, milling around and waiting in anticipation as events got underway, would have been receptive to the least bit of stimulation, the sound of the distant approach of the imperial entourage or merely rumors of its advance (Brilliant 1999: 221–29). As time has the peculiar tendency either to crawl or to race ahead in these moments, the crowd's emotions intensified at events that seem to us to have been highly controlled or stage-managed. Amidst the holiday atmosphere and festive background, the centerpieces and props stand out.

We may divide the temporary structures into two categories: (i) the architectural folly, of which the imperial funerary pyre is a prime example because of its grandiose superstructure and splendid adornment; and (ii) less magnificent utilitarian shelter, such as tents and awnings, for fairs and rites. Both of these provide settings for the production of special effects, through the apparatus of nocturnal illuminations or rigging of objects that were elevated over or descended down to the assembly, which were used most notably to lower gifts into the crowd, in the arena, for example.⁶ The extravagance of the folly and its special effects has been better documented than the less glamorous humble tents or lean-tos that cluttered the capital on occasion.⁷

I will focus on one particular type of temporary structure, the imperial pyre and its role in the funeral and apotheosis of the emperor.⁸ The pyre's

⁴ See Zerner 2004: 93 on "the recurrent and unchanging" aspects of ceremonies that remain in memory.

⁵ Richard 1980: 461–72; Richard 1978: 1121–34.

⁶ *Stat. Silv.* 1.6.10–26, 85–97. See Graefe 1979: 114–20 for depictions in Pompeian painting of gift baskets lowered from ceilings by ropes.

⁷ E.g., tents or huts were set up in a grove near the Tiber for the country outing in honor of Jupiter and Anna Perenna: *Ov. Fast.* 3.523–30; cf. Graefe 1979: 7 on representations of tents and awnings.

⁸ Frazer 1968: 209; Frazer 1979: 271–74; Toynbee 1971: 56–61; Price 1987: 93–97; Arce 1988: 141–51; Zanker 2004a: 44–56; Arce, this volume.

monumental architectural structure was decked out with works of art, all of which were, of course, consumed by flames. That funerary pyres were destroyed is unremarkable, except for the sheer scale and extravagance of the imperial examples. In general, I am interested in the extent to which the temporary structures or props reflected or extended the city's monuments or, conversely, broke free of the city's constraints by transforming the urban scene. The site was often of utmost importance for the historical resonance of these events that alluded to other places and times in a panorama that spanned Roman history from its beginnings and was not confined to mere physical and temporal boundaries.⁹ The celebration of festivals and performance of rites, of course, kept age-old traditions alive and also allowed for the participation of the people, if only in the passive sense as an audience for these reenactments. That fugitive scenery and props traced flight paths to the heavens in the imperial funeral suggests how citizens were allowed to witness or take part in extraordinary events that ultimately reaffirmed the political and social order.¹⁰ In the course of this inquiry, we may also consider how the city, as both the physical setting and a work of art under imperial care, was imaginatively reconfigured, its plan redrawn, during such holidays.

I. The *rogus* as a work of art

The spectacular effects of the emperor's funeral were evoked by the representations on coins of the *rogus*, or pyre, a multi-storied, elaborately ornamented tower.¹¹ Although there has been increasingly steady interest in the imperial funeral, the form and function of the pyre or *rogus* has not been closely examined as a work of ephemeral architecture. That it served as a symbol of the process of imperial deification is clear from its depiction on the reverses of coins commemorating the *consecratio* from the mid-second century AD onwards.¹² The coin sequence, clustered in the Antonine period with some later examples, offers views of the pyre, immediately recognizable with its stacked tiers and figured ornamentation

⁹ Cf. Zanker 2004a: 20–43, and Price 1987: 59–70 on the location of imperial funerals beginning in the Roman Forum and forming a procession to the Campus Martius.

¹⁰ See Arce 1988: 20, fig. 1, for a diagram of the procession of Sulla's funeral that delineates the participants.

¹¹ See Schulten 1979: 21–22 on the coin types of the imperial pyre.

¹² The other image that evoked imperial apotheosis on coins represented an altar with an eagle or pair of eagles (the eagle may also appear on an orb or a column base); see Schulten 1979: 22–24, 37–38.

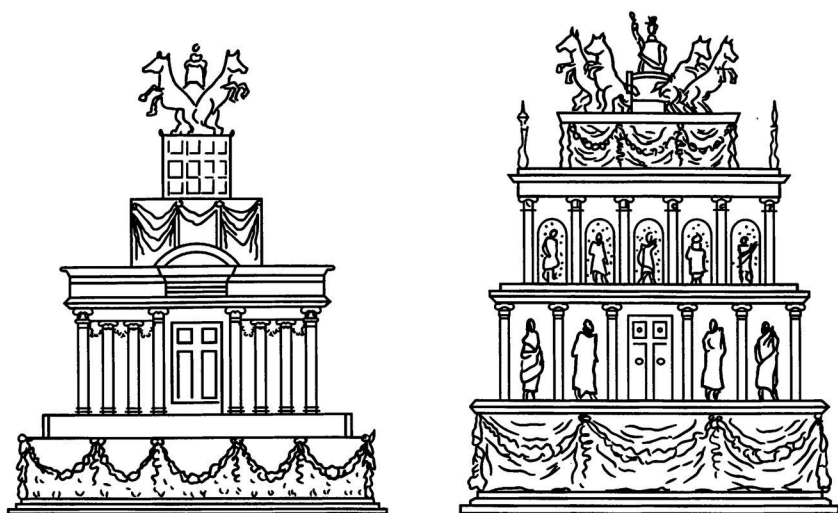


Fig. 11.1 Drawings of two pyres from Antonine coins.



Fig. 11.2 Reverse of a silver denarius of Divus Antoninus, AD 161.

(figs. 11.1–11.2) (Arce 1988: 141–50). However, the impact of the monumental pyre on eyewitnesses and ancient historians is evidenced by its description in the written sources. The key ancient texts are Cassius Dio's accounts of the funerals of Augustus in AD 14 and of Pertinax in 193, written in the early third century, and Herodian's description of Septimius Severus'



Fig. 11.3 Four Antonine coins.

funeral in 211, written in the mid-third century.¹³ It is interesting that the written sources are roughly half a century later than most of the coins yet both texts and coins offer generally similar images of the pyre. The chronological gap in the evidence calls to mind the observation that ceremonial is “by nature . . . recurrent and unchanging” (Zerner 2004: 93). Even if aspects of the funeral changed over time, the depictions on coins emphasize what is perhaps most characteristic and common to the form of the pyre, rather than variations and deviations from the norm. The generic conventions of numismatic representation abbreviate the image and aim for overall clarity at the expense of less visible details.

The pyre is immediately recognizable as a square, stepped pyramidal tower (figs. 11.3–11.4). It usually reaches to three or five storeys, with each superimposed tier decreasing in size from the one below it.¹⁴ The tiers are articulated as colonnaded or articulated screens, an element of public urban architecture common to temples, basilicas, theaters, and imperial palaces (MacDonald 1986: 5–31, 92–99, 179–207). The form of the pyre’s tiers was a familiar feature of the urban street even if the stepped tower stood out from its surroundings. Some of the coins show a door on the second storey through which the emperor’s remains were carried or in which his wax effigy was placed; others have a caged structure near the top, allegedly to hold the

¹³ Dio 56. 42 (on Augustus’ funeral); Dio 75.4–5 (Pertinax). Hdn 4.2 (Septimius Severus); see discussion in Arce (this volume).

¹⁴ Frazer 1979; Zanker 2004a: 44–47.



Fig. 11.4 Reverse of a sestertertius of Divus Septimius Severus, AD 211.

eagle that soared aloft during the proceedings (figs. 11.5–11.6).¹⁵ According to Dio (75.5.4) and Herodian (4.2.7), garlands or drapery swags, statues, and paintings adorned the façade, some of which can be discerned in the coin's images – we will return to this in some detail. The top of the tower was surmounted by a figure in a *quadriga* or a *biga*, the selection of which vehicle signified whether the emperor or his wife was undergoing apotheosis (figs. 11.7–11.8) (Frazer 1979: 272). The chariot as a crowning element is also seen in triumphal arches, and it is typical for commemorative monuments to combine aspects of triumphal imagery with funerary symbols, as seen in the pair of huge torches flanking the chariot in some coins. If poets, such as Ovid, referred to the means of combustion for an ordinary cremation as a “built pyre” (*rogus structus*), then the imperial pyre appeared to have been rather overbuilt.¹⁶

The extravagantly adorned exterior decoration merits a detailed discussion, given the importance of artworks and textiles in the written sources that describe other, well-known temporary structures. The images on coins depict garlands on the bottom and top stories, as well as drapery – gold-embroidered, according to Herodian (4.2.7). He also reports that ivory carvings and paintings decorated the pyre, while Dio mentions ivory and gold ornament, as well as statues (75.4). On many of the coins, tiny figures appear as statues in niches or intercolumniations of the pyre's façade.

¹⁵ Arce 1988: 140–51; Price 1987: 93–96; Schulten 1979: 22; Toynbee 1971: 59–61.

¹⁶ Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.98, 3.13.21, 4.10.88; *Pont.* 3.2.32.



Fig. 11.5 Obverse and reverse of a denarius of the younger Faustina.



Fig. 11.6 Sestertius of Diva Julia Maesa, c. AD 225.

Again, the presence of statues in an architectural façade was standard practice in Roman building, as was the hanging of garlands on sacred and civic structures. The drapery, ivory carvings, and panel paintings may seem less familiar, although we should recall the venerable Republican practice of decorating basilicas with shields and temples with triumphal



Fig. 11.7 Reverse of a sestertius of Divus Marcus Aurelius, AD 180.



Fig. 11.8 Reverse of a *Consecratio* coin, second century AD.

booty.¹⁷ Yet there were historical precedents for monumental funerary pyres.

A look at monumental pyres in the Hellenic world is instructive. Alexander planned the funeral for his friend Hephaestion, who died in 324 BC in Ecbatana.¹⁸ According to Diodorus Siculus, Alexander ordered the neighboring cities to contribute to the building of the pyre, especially to adorn it in ivory and gold and other splendid materials (17.115.1–4). A section of the

¹⁷ See, for example, Mallwitz 1972 for the Greek tradition of decorating temples and other buildings with *spolia*.

¹⁸ Diod. Sic. 17.115.1–5. Wüst 1959: 105–33.

city wall was to be taken down to make way for the pyre's base, and trunks of palm trees formed the layers of the square base. The external decoration was organized vertically in the various stories: the lowest course had golden prows of ships, then figures of kneeling archers between red felt banners; the second level featured big torches adorned with golden wreaths, eagles, and serpents; the third level offered figures of hunters and their prey; the fourth had a battle scene with centaurs and lapiths in gold; the fifth was decorated with Macedonian and Persian arms, while figures of sirens crowned the top. Hollowed out for singers who performed a lament for the dead, the sirens came alive during the ceremony. But the performers somehow would have to scramble down from their precarious tableaux before the pyre was lit or they would have joined the 10,000 sacrificial victims slaughtered after the rite.

It is an interesting coincidence that our literary sources for the Roman imperial apotheosis were Greeks. As a senator and participant in Pertinax's final rites, Dio was well assimilated into Roman culture. Herodian, on the other hand, wrote more of an "ethnographic excursus on the peculiarities of an alien custom" for a Greek audience (Price 1987: 58). One wonders if their descriptions of the pyre were influenced by the Hellenic model set by Alexander. Even though Herodian may have observed the distinct peculiarities of Roman rites, he might have found it difficult to avoid describing the pyre in terms that were familiar to Greeks and, thus, slanted his description towards Hellenic practices.

What is most pertinent about Diodorus Siculus' account of Hephaestion's pyre, which was set up in Babylon, comes in his final remarks: Alexander decreed that Hephaestion should be worshipped as a god (17.115.4). This, after all, was the point of the *crematio* undertaken with a monumental pyre. That neighboring cities were compelled to contribute to the decoration of the pyre, and that Babylon's fortifications were rearranged to accommodate it, testifies to the signal importance of such a commemorative act for Alexander.

The sculptural decoration representing hunts, battles, and mythological subjects recalls the heroic motifs of Hellenistic monuments, such as the Alexander sarcophagus, the friezes of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and Lycian tombs, among other monuments.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the ornament of the Roman imperial pyre is not described in detail by either Dio or Herodian, who merely refer to paintings, statues, ivory carvings, and embroidered textiles. The coins show statues placed in the intercolumniations or arcades

¹⁹ Smith 1991: 181–92; Fedak 1990: 65–101.

of the pyre's tiers, and we can imagine statues in wood or wax, painted and gilded, depicting the deceased emperor in various roles and dress: togate and head covered as a priest, cuirassed as a general and warrior, draped in a mantle holding scrolls as an administrator, or others with attributes of divinities – Jupiter or Mars, for example, and repetitions of these types throughout the tiers.²⁰ Other statues may have depicted ancestors, both actual and claimed mythological figures.

The paintings would have allowed for a wider field of vision with scenes of battle and ceremonial events or other milestones of an imperial career, as typically seen in the so-called historical reliefs (Hölscher 2004: 38–57). Alternatively, the paintings may have represented mythological scenes appropriate for the pyre, such as the models for imperial apotheosis, Romulus and Hercules. Ovid portrays the apotheosis of Romulus as a miraculous ascent in Jupiter's chariot, followed by the *divus*' roadside appearance by moonlight before the senator Julius Proculus bidding Romans not to mourn him but to worship the new god Quirinus (*Fast.* 2.119–22, 481–512). In pictorial terms, Romulus' ascent by chariot makes for stirring triumphal imagery, and we may have reflections of this tradition in the relief on the Augustan Belvedere altar of c. 12–2 BC that has been identified as depicting the apotheosis of Romulus or Julius Caesar (Kleiner 1992: 102–03, fig. 86).

Diodorus Siculus tells of the other predecessor of the imperial funeral, the weakened Hercules ascending an enormous pyre on the advice of the Delphic oracle (4.38.3–5). Lightning struck the pyre when lit and it burned in a flash. Since not a bone of Hercules could be found in the ashes, it was believed that he had been spirited away to the company of the gods, as the oracle had foretold. The lack of physical remains provided important evidence that the deceased person had defied mortality and become divine, as in the cases of both Hercules and Romulus. Imperial funerals, however, required a suspension of disbelief since the remains of emperors were normally removed from the pyre and placed in the imperial mausoleum. Livia, for example, stayed at the pyre for up to five days to collect the bones of Augustus.²¹ Hercules' apotheosis suggests that witnesses were also important, and the evidence given by a senior senator that he saw Augustus ascending to heaven was required before the decree of Augustus' divinity was awarded (Price 1987: 73). Fitting subjects for a painting could

²⁰ See, for example, the assemblage of sculpture in early imperial monuments, such as the Forum of Augustus in Rome, as well as in later examples, such as the second-century fountain of Herodes Atticus in Olympia. Repetition of the figure of the emperor in various guises serves to magnify his physical presence and capacity in different spheres of activity.

²¹ Dio 56.42.4, with Price 1987: 75–76.

be found in a scene of Hercules mounting the pyre while still alive, the crowd of witnesses below, and the lightning bolt looming above.

Towering pyres loaded with statues, paintings, and drapery were built for the funerals of emperors and their wives and, before this, for some Republican dynasts and Hellenistic notables. We can better appreciate the level of luxury afforded by the imperial funeral if we compare it to the décor of private rites for affluent citizens. The elder Pliny reported that there was a tradition of decorating pyres with paintings. He tells us that pyres were often painted in encaustic, melted wax with pigment added, which was an inexpensive medium.²² Wax painting, like the wax effigy, was a medium that lent itself to the effects of light and shadow, and of intense and saturated color that seems to glow from within.²³ It is likely that the paintings adorning the pyre were encaustic panels held in place by frames and hung on the entablature or on the doors of the tiers of the pyre.²⁴ Since wax and paint melt at the slightest heat, the encaustic panels would drip as soon as the pyre was lit (or even before, if torches provided illumination before the conflagration). The dissolution of the painted scenes, the colors and figures running in rivulets down their sides, must have been a memorable part of the spectacle.

Herodian mentions gold and ivory as materials decorating the pyre, as well as the ivory couch on which the effigy of the emperor was carried in procession and then placed in the pyre (4.2.2–8). Caesar's ivory *lectus* was decorated with gold and purple, as was that of Pertinax (Suet. *Caes.* 84; Dio 75.4.3). We may assume that such luxury could be afforded by emperors and dictators, but not by their subjects. Yet funerary couches with ivory and bone ornament are not uncommon in the archaeological record. Elaborate and costly funerals were arranged for the élite, especially in Italy and the western provinces, and indicate a spread of luxury throughout the upper levels of the social hierarchy in the empire.²⁴ Evidently the public performance of commemoration was important enough for many families to invest heavily in the funerary finery that bore traces of imperial influence.²⁵

The last category of artistic adornment of the pyre comprises the most ephemeral materials: textiles, garlands, flowers. The coins show drapery swags or festoons on various stories of the towers, and the sources mention "gold-embroidered drapery" (Hdn 4.2.7). The fabric draped over the tiers

²² Plin. *NH* 35.49; cf. Noy 2000a: 38.

²³ For the effects of encaustic used in the Fayum portraits of Roman Egypt, see Doxiadis 1995: 95–100.

²⁴ See Noy 2000a: 38–43 on the range of grave goods burnt on pyres.

²⁵ Polyb. 6. 53–4; cf. Price 1987: 62–66 on the role of tradition in noble funerals.

on the pyre served the utilitarian function of covering the timber framing beneath while creating a porous skin for the currents of air needed to vent the flames (Noy 2000b: 187). Lightweight, pliable, and easily adjusted to various frames, cloth was invaluable in temporary structures, such as tents or funeral pyres. Fabric also was employed in the form of embroidered tapestries suspended in the manner of paintings in the tiers of the pyre. Woven fabrics as wall hangings have left some traces in the archaeological record: Pompeian paintings represent scenes in which draped fabrics screen vistas into the distance or form "spatial shells" that extend rooms in novel ways through their flexibility.²⁶ Fabrics were also painted on Pompeian walls as if they were stretched on rods, and the floating figures of the Fourth Style may be seen as images woven on tapestries (Leach 2004: 180–84). The Republic became familiar with the luxury of tapestries through the plunder of war from the East (Asia and Alexandria), although the primary document on buildings constructed of curtains was the dining pavilion of Ptolemy II Philadelphus erected in the palace-park of Alexandria in the second century BC (Callixenus, *Ath.* 196a–197c) for a festival, the winter Dionysia.²⁷ The symposium tent employed fabric both as adornment and as structure: sheaths of walls, compartments or corridors, roofs, awnings, and canopies billowed around the diners while animal skins and tapestries were draped on screens and beams. Fabric allowed for experimentation in spanning spaces and creating dramatic effects.

The dining pavilion also served as an art gallery (Winter and Christie 1985: 290–92). One hundred marble statues by well-known artists stood at the columns of the interior and the corridor of Ptolemy's tent in Alexandria. Between the columns were panel paintings alternating with portraits, gold-embroidered tunics, and military cloaks (some of the latter were woven with portraits of kings). Above this, on a second level, alternating gold and silver shields were displayed. The top had tableaux representing symposium-scenes with figures from tragedy and comedy; in between there were niches with golden tripods. Golden eagles perched along the edge of the ceiling.

The decorative scheme of the pavilion featured art works exhibited on the structure's internal elevation, each level devoted to a different display. Shields, tripods, and eagles were decorative motifs adapted by Romans in varied contexts. It is interesting that the panel paintings were intermingled with portraits – do we assume, then, that the panels depicted other scenes, such as royal hunts or mythological scenes, in the manner of the pyre that

²⁶ See Graefe 1979: 114–20 for depictions of hanging fabrics, tent pavilions, and awnings in Pompeian painting.

²⁷ Winter and Christie 1985: 289–308.

Alexander planned for Hephaestion (see p. 296)? Textiles not only formed walls and roof but also provided figured decoration with the tunics and cloaks bearing portraits of kings, the type of artifact we may expect in a historical museum. Athenaeus' description of Ptolemy's tent suggests the lavishness of temporary structures and their utility for the spectacle of regal festivals and banquets.

Tents by their very nature combine the outdoors with the indoors. Ptolemy's tent had floors littered with rose petals and courtyards with trees and greenery alongside the structure's timber frame to create the illusion of a natural setting. On the other hand, the Roman imperial pyre belongs to the city with its agglomeration of urban architectural forms. Herodian likened the pyre to a house because of its many windows and doors, yet he described each tier as a separate house, the series of which diminished in size as they were piled up one on top of the other (4.2.6). It is curious that he envisioned the pyre as the sum of its individual parts, as if this view might have recalled dense urban development with dwellings stacked on hills or on other buildings.

II. The *rogus* as spectacle

The imperial funeral consisted of an established procedure that began with the body or image being laid out in the Forum for the viewing of the populace, which congregated according to rank and role (although for Septimius Severus the image was displayed outside the palace with senators and their wives in attendance before being brought down to the Forum: Hdn. 4.2.2–4). There were offerings, hymns, and the funeral oration. Then a procession of senators and their wives, the praetorian guard, magistrates, and priests headed to the Campus Martius. A contingent of equestrians carried the bier. When they reached the pyre in the Campus Martius, offerings were made and the *decursio* was performed (Hdn 4.2.4–10; Dio 56.42, 75.4–5). Consisting at various times of priests, magistrates, soldiers, and equestrians, the participants of the *decursio* circled the pyre in a counterclockwise motion. In Dio's account of Pertinax's funeral, "cavalry and infantry passed in and out around the pyre performing intricate evolutions, those of both peace and war" (75.4.2–5.5). Herodian tells us that chariots also circled around the pyre, and those driving the chariots wore masks of famous Roman generals and emperors (4.2.10).

The pyre was the focus of a painstakingly choreographed movement of men, horses, and chariots. Yet, it was also associated with moving objects in

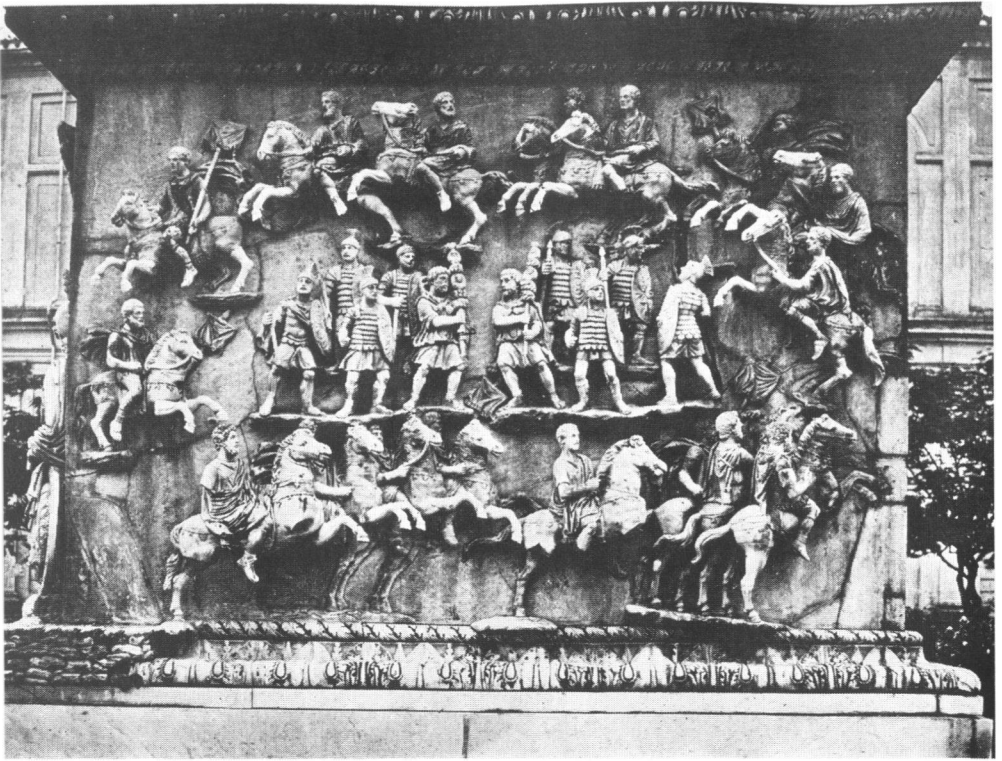


Fig. 11.9 *Decursio* relief on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius, c. AD 161.

some sources. The elder Pliny's commentary on the painting of pyres links the pyre to means of conveyance (NH 35.49). Pliny states that we should not be surprised that pyres were painted because vehicles were frequently adorned with figured decoration. He cites ships as an example, and then compares the deceased to gladiators riding into the fray in splendid chariots. Boats, chariots, and pyres were classified as vessels in this context. We may not consider the pyre as a means of transportation but it did provide a launching pad for the eagle released from its cage near the top (pp. 293–94). The final passage of the imperial cremation was performed by the flight of the bird to the heavens.

Depictions of the equestrian cavalcade emphasize the circumambulation. The *decursio* is represented in the relief from the column base of Antoninus Pius, although here the horsemen circle not the pyre but members of the praetorian guard (fig. 11.9).²⁸ This may have been an artistic abbreviation of the event that emphasized the military cortege rather than the scenery.

²⁸ Vogel 1973: 56–68; Davies 2000a: 40–42; Boatwright, this volume.

The influence of the *decursio* and its depictions reached early modern Italy as seen in an etching of an “equestrian ballet” performed for Cosimo de’ Medici’s festival of 1608 in the Piazza Santa Croce in Florence.²⁹ Some similarities are striking: both the ancient and seventeenth-century representations share a steep bird’s eye point of view (with the central group seen head-on in the column base), and the composition is based on the geometry of the pageantry: the circle. The pyre – although not represented here – remained “dead-center,” while the orders of Roman society paraded around it, creating a vortex of energy that spiraled round and round but aimed only upward.

In another curious passage that links the pyre to ships, Herodian compared the shape of the pyre to that of a lighthouse. The tall tower lit from the fire provided the terms for the comparison of the two structures. Yet Herodian says that the function of the lighthouse is to “guide ships at night to safe anchorage” (4.2.8). How does that apply to the pyre? The eagle released to symbolize – or carry – the emperor’s soul flew away from, not towards, the pyre. It is tempting to recognize another element of imperial iconography here that is borrowed from a different spectacle, the circus. The Circus Maximus had a central obelisk dedicated to the sun on the barrier around which the chariots raced. The chariots were represented as heavenly bodies revolving around the sun in a circus spectacle that ensured that the cosmic order was aligned with the will of the emperor. Although the cosmic allusions appear in late-antique and Byzantine sources, the topos of the sun and moon as chariots was prevalent in the empire (Feldherr 1995: 249, n. 13). The chariots spinning around the pyre in the imperial funeral may have evoked the notion of the heavens paying tribute to the new *divus* moments before he joined them above.

III. The *rogus* as a fragrant balm

From the reenactment of the solar system on the grounds of the Campus Martius to the solemn spectacle of senators taking their places after marching from the Forum, the towering pyre literally reached for the heavens. Although the coins depict only the façade, the pyre had both an exterior and interior. The interior, constructed of wooden beams and filled with brushwood and other combustibles, lacked the glittering decoration of the exterior (Hdn 4.2.7). We may imagine a lightweight but not flimsy

²⁹ By Matthaeus Greuter; Zerner 2004: 91, fig. 23.

structure given its height. The door on the second story allowed entry for the imperial corpse (or for its substitute, a wax effigy) on its bier (fig. 11.6; Arce 1988: 142).

Herodian mentions that the pyre had spaces inside for perfumes, incense, fruits, and other gifts for the deceased emperor, some of them piled next to his remains or effigy (4.2.10–11). The interior was probably left in simple frame construction with hollow spaces for the stockpiles of aromatics. Nature and vegetation typically form part of temporary structures, but here the organic elements composed a still-life (*nature morte*) with the essences of exotic blooms or the first fruits from gardens, orchards, and fields throughout the empire (Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.34, 5.1.210–16). Both dry and wet – incense and the juices of the fruits, spicy and sweet, processed and fresh – these natural ingredients made up the core of the pyre (Hdn 4.2.8–9). As the fire consumed the outer trappings, and then the emperor's effigy or remains, the aromatic interior emitted perfumed clouds amidst the more acrid smoke of the conflagration. Rather than viewing the pyre simply as a towering structure, we should think of it as an incendiary device. Instead of the pyrotechnics of explosives, the pyre gave off a fragrant balm when lit. Of course, the pyre was not intended to create interior space nor even to mark the spot of the imperial apotheosis (as a *cippus*), but to be consumed by the flames until it was reduced to rubble and cinders. The ceremony marked the departure and change of state of the emperor, who left behind clouds of scent as he became a *divus*.³⁰ We may imagine that the olfactory effects of the billowing sweet smoke signaled the momentous event throughout the city and served to buffer the spectators from the less pleasant aspects of the blaze. The scent may also have created a heightened environment through its allusions to exotic places, such as Arabia and India, and their commodities – that is, the perfumed essences transported the crowd to another place after its collective state of excitement and anticipation.

The importance of the fragrance to the ceremony is attested by its endowment by the Arval Brothers, who in AD 120 assumed the costs and reaped the prestige associated with their generosity.³¹ That incense was a luxury item difficult to attain for most citizens is evidenced in an epigram of Martial mocking a man who pocketed half-burned frankincense and cinnamon from the pyre of a private funeral (*Ep.* 11.54). Not that the spectators would have been so tempted at the imperial pyre, even though an excess of incense

³⁰ Price 1987: 95–96; Zanker 2004a: 44–56.

³¹ Price 1987: 95; Scheid 1998: 210; Zanker 2004a: 49.

made a point of conspicuous consumption. In Sulla's funeral, there was more than enough incense and cinnamon to mold an image of the deceased that was also cremated along with the remains (Plut. *Sull.* 38; Arce 1988: 22). The overabundance of luxury goods was demonstrated by a crossing of categories, by employing fragrance and spices as an art material or a visual aid rather than purely as a scent noted by the nose rather than the eyes. The sculpture of Sulla made out of incense suited the purpose of the *crematio* beautifully by going up in a cloud of perfumed smoke rather more effortlessly than the actual body. For works of ephemera, the use of non-traditional materials furthered certain effects and, in the imperial apotheosis, the physical destruction of the emperor's body and his effigy enabled his ascent into the heavens. The figure's de-materialization into a sweet balm also produced an otherworldly atmosphere as the pyre burnt.

The incineration of the deceased on the pyre was the goal of the private funeral rite in the Republic and early empire. Even if incense, an ivory *lectus*, and some personal effects of the deceased were thrown into the flames, the focus was always on the body's decomposition into ash and bone. The imperial funeral, however, also entailed the programmed destruction of an architectural construction and its elaborate display of statues, paintings, and tapestries. More prominent than the disposal of the corpse or effigy was the enactment of apotheosis, culminating with the flight of the eagle. To be fair, in the funerals described by the historians, the corpses had been replaced by images because the emperor had died either some months before (Pertinax) or far from Rome (Septimius Severus) (see Arce, this volume). The waxen image of the emperor kept company with the other images of wax, wood, or more valuable materials mounted on the pyre. Its burning, too, required careful planning and management before the release of the eagle aloft. A look at some of the comparative evidence for the process of cremation is useful to get a sense of the experience and its duration.

Managing the controlled burn of the imperial pyre in close quarters with an audience at hand was no simple task (Noy 2000a: 36–37 and 2000b: 186–89). Vitruvius noticed that pyres were built with layers of logs, each layer placed over the lower at right angles to it (2.9.15). The minimum length of an ordinary pyre would correspond to that of the body laid out, but length as well as height varied to reflect the status of the deceased (Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.685, 226). The pyre was often built over a shallow pit to allow for the circulation of air below. Estimates of the amount of wood a cremation used range from one ton (high) to the 20 kilograms of charcoal found in one imperial site in Gaul (Noy 2000a: 37, n. 53). In Rome, oak and pine, along with poplar and cypress, were used to construct the pyre. It has been



Fig. 11.10 Location of Antonine consecration altars in Rome.

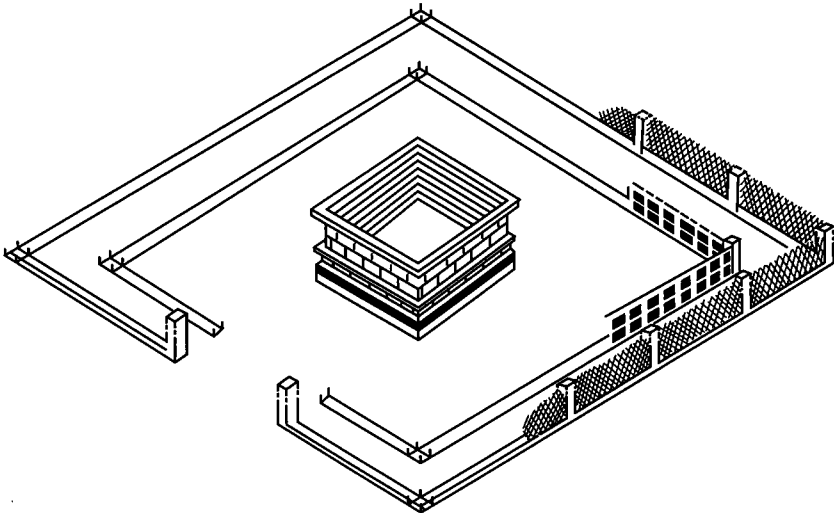


Fig. 11.11 Reconstruction of the consecration altar of the Palazzo del Parlamento, Rome.

estimated that a standard Roman cremation would take up to seven or eight hours.³² Public funerals began very early in the morning and lasted most of the day or longer (Arce 1988: 22, 31–32). Ethnographic evidence from nineteenth-century Tasmania informs us that pyres were left to burn overnight but often the pyre had to be lit again the next day because the corpses were not entirely burnt (Noy 2000b: 187, n. 13). That this ghastly image of the charred body recurs in Roman literary and historical sources suggests how difficult it was to achieve a complete cremation without the assistance of professional pyre-builders, favorable weather, and sufficient time (Noy 2000b: 186–95).

At the imperial pyre a small army of attendants must have been at work, stoking the blaze and raking to prevent build-ups of ash. A sudden shift of the wind would have fanned the flames, possibly endangering spectators or engulfing them in smoke (Bodel 1994: 51). “Cremation needs heat, oxygen, and time” to complete, and the imperial funeral guaranteed all of these requirements (McKinley 1989: 72). The example of Livia waiting five days at Augustus’ pyre may have been extreme, but most other spectators probably watched other imperial funerals for the better part of a day, or even into the night (Dio 56.42.4). In the Campus Martius two (or three) structures which have been identified as either *ustrina* or consecration altars were located near or under the site of the Parliament building at Montecitorio (Figs. 11.10 and 11.11).³³ The central spaces of these precincts are thought to have been the bases of the pyres, one for Antoninus Pius and the other for Marcus Aurelius. There is still no consensus about the use of these spaces, which some think are too small to contain the imperial pyre without catching fire.³⁴

If not in these precincts, then nearby, the pyre was lit, the fire shot up from the base of logs to the superstructure, the wax images quickly melted, the tapestries and textiles were singed and scorched before flapping away from the structure, the wood and ivory statues were licked by flames and then devoured. The blaze would create a great noise with the snapping and hissing sounds as the tiers and colonnades broke apart, much of the architecture caving inward although some sections, no doubt, could fall outward. A cloud of scent billowed forth as the aromatic spices and incense released their perfume amidst the wreckage. Dio simply tells us that the pyre was lit

³² McKinley 1989: 65–76; Noy 2000b: 186–87.

³³ Arce 1988: 142; La Rocca 1984: 101–6, fig. 21; Boatwright, this volume.

³⁴ See Kampmann 1985: 78, on the building of the pyre on the *bustum* so that the fire would be directed upwards and outwards. See also Boatwright 1987: 224–26, for the opinion that the structures were too small for the imperial pyre.

and the eagle took flight in Pertinax's funeral (75.5). Herodian states that in the funeral of Septimius Severus the whole structure easily caught fire, burned without difficulty, and then the eagle was released from the pyre's highest point (4.2.10). Thus were deceased emperors made immortal. But what was the eagle leaving behind and below at the burning pyre? Nothing less than a city in miniature, stocked with the well-appointed amenities of the urban scene, going up in smoke.

This presentation will be based principally on two texts: Cassius Dio 75.4–5, which pertains to the year AD 193 and which describes the funeral organized by the emperor Septimius Severus in honor of Pertinax; and Herodian 4.2.2–11, which describes the funeral honors organized by Caracalla and Geta in honor of their father, Septimius Severus, in the year 211. Both ceremonies take place and have as their setting the city of Rome, and both are ceremonies in which the emperor is present – but only *in effigie*.¹ They are public ceremonies in which the entire social body participates, from senators to the most humble, from the army to the priests and pontiffs. One could say that it is the last ceremony in the life of the emperor in sight of his people, in Rome, even though on this occasion – and this is the anomalous and surprising aspect of the problem – his presence is a fiction because the emperor, in both cases, is already dead and buried.

I. The ceremonies

The text of Dio, though preserved only in the epitome of Xiphilinus, clearly reflects that Dio himself, in his capacity as a senator, was an eye-witness to the ceremonies, since on various occasions he speaks in the first person plural of “we senators” (75.4.4–6, 5.1–2, 3, 5). There is no reason, then, to suspect that his description is invented. The text of Herodian is more generic. After having explained how the urn with the ashes of Severus was deposited in the tomb of Marcus and his predecessors (i.e., in the Mausoleum of Hadrian), the historian offers an *excursus* on how the funeral honors developed, a type of didactic exposition for his eastern readers, not accustomed to witnessing this type of ceremony, nor to participating in them: “it is the custom among the Romans to deify the emperors . . .”² There are many similarities and

¹ Cf. Arce 1988: 129–31; see also Price 1987: 59–61, 83–84; Chantraine 1980: 71–85; Kierdorf 1986a: 43–69; Gros 1965–66: 477–90; Gradel 2002: 283; Birley 1999: 188 (without commentary); Millar 1964: 139, “a formal periphrasis on the ‘funeral’ and deification of Pertinax,” but no other commentary. And see now also Zanker 2004a.

² See Turcan 1958: 327: “un excursus ethnographique”; Arce 1988: 130.

coincidences between the two descriptions, and it is worth emphasizing that both ceremonies took place in close temporal proximity to one another (in 193 and 211). The details that are missing in one can be supplemented with the help of the other. No other author or ancient source describes the ceremonies like Herodian and Dio. The *Historia Augusta* is limited to saying that Severus was buried in the tomb of Marcus Aurelius (and this makes us think, by the way, that the Romans knew the Mausoleum of Hadrian as the Mausoleum or Tomb of Marcus), and that his sons organized for him a *funus amplissimum* (a grandiose funeral), without giving more details (*Sev.* 19.3–4). With reference to Pertinax, the author of the *Historia Augusta* also indicates that at his request, Severus, his successor, organized for him a *funus imaginarium et censorium*, in which the *laudatio funebris* was undertaken by Septimius Severus himself (*Pert.* 14.8). But at least the *Historia Augusta* furnishes us with the definition of this type of funeral: the ceremony was both a *funus imaginarium* and a *funus censorium*. It is not possible that the two are the same thing or that they were called indiscriminately *funus imaginarium* or *censorium*, but rather that it was *imaginarium* and *censorium*. I will return to this point later. Before analyzing the ceremonies and their significance, let me add a couple of words about the circumstances of both funerals.

II. The deaths of Pertinax and Severus

Pertinax was assassinated by the praetorian soldiers in the living quarters of the imperial palace on the Palatine in Rome (*Hdn* 2.5.3–4, 2.5.8–9). His head was carried on a pike through the city. When Didius Julianus, his successor, recovered the head and the corpse, he put them in the tomb of his grandfather's wife (*in sepulchro avi uxoris locatae sunt*), and he gave Pertinax some modest obsequies.³ There are two reasons for this. First, Didius Julianus did not take part in the conspiracy against Pertinax. Second, he could not give a spectacular public funeral for fear of the praetorians and conspirators. There was no *funus publicum* for Pertinax nor a decree of *consecratio* with the ceremonies that, since the time of Augustus, at least, had traditionally preceded it. It may be that the Roman people did not even know if Pertinax had been buried (Kienast 1996: 152).

The sons of Septimius Severus cremated his corpse in Eburacum (York) in Britannia, and then brought the ashes, deposited in an alabaster urn, to

³ *Pert.* 14.8: *quanto potuit honore funeratus est.*

Rome in order to inter them in the imperial Mausoleum.⁴ The *adventus* of the ashes constituted a ceremony and procession in which the people and Severus' two successors participated. The masses prostrated themselves while passing in procession before the urn. According to Herodian, once the ashes were deposited in the Mausoleum, the funeral honors for the emperor, presided over by his sons, began.⁵

In both cases we can speak of a double funeral. That of Pertinax was modest, almost secret. That of Severus, which included the cremation ceremony in York and whose burial in Rome gave rise to a procession, was full of enthusiasm and reverence. Why have another funeral in Rome?⁶ In the case of Pertinax, for two reasons. The first was political and had to do with the reinforcement of Septimius Severus' power. Severus was not in Rome when either Pertinax or Didius Julianus was assassinated. There was a power vacuum and Severus needed to associate himself with Pertinax in order to be considered his legitimate successor. The memory of Pertinax had to be honored publicly. The other reason why Pertinax was given a second funeral has to do with the fact that Severus (and the Senate) wished to deify him. We do not know if the *funeratus est* that Didius Julianus carried out with his corpse included the *crematio*. Probably not. The people of Rome, mediating the ceremony, had to attend the funeral honors and witness the *crematio* of the corpse, an indispensable requisite for deification.⁷

The deification of the two emperors required an adequate ceremony and the burning of the corpse. In neither of the two cases was the corpse present; in fact, in the case of Severus, the entire populace had already accompanied the ashes to the Mausoleum and knew that they had been deposited there. But the theatrical representation that was characteristic of Roman funerals was required: a precise and organized ceremonial and a symbolic topography in which each social element became the actor of a regulated and perfect representation.⁸ And this grandiose act, this comprehensible and participatory message, required a setting in Rome. In royal or imperial funerals, succession and legitimacy are the fundamental components.⁹ To make the succession visual is what the sons of Severus did.

⁴ Dio 76.15.4; Hdn 3.15.7; *HA Sev.* 24.2; cf. Birley 1999: 188.

⁵ Hdn 4.1.4; *Aur. Vict. Hist. Abbr.* 20.30; but see *HA Get.* 7 (mistaken).

⁶ See discussion in Bickerman 1929: 1–31; Bickerman 1973; Arce 1988: 125–26; Kierdorf 1986a: 43–69; Gradel 2002: 282–86.

⁷ *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 14; Scheid 1984: 121, n. 15; *contra*, Gradel 2002: 289; Oliver 1949: 39; Gros 1965–66: 477–90.

⁸ Arce 1988: 19–23; 28–33; Arce 2000a: 26–27; 36–39, with Polyb. 6.53–55. For similar ceremonies in other societies see Huntington and Metcalf 1979; Geertz 1980: 116–20.

⁹ Price 1987: 56–105; Arce 1988: 53.

And this is what their father had recently done with Pertinax. Deification is an act of *pietas* that reconciles the heir with the gods, publicly expressing his *concordia* and *pax* with them. The burial of Pertinax by Didius Julianus is a “family” burial; so too that of Severus in Britannia. The celebration in Rome, however, is imperial, and has a universal dimension. The Romans were not unique in this. We could cite many examples from other periods and from other peoples, such as the Ottoman sultans. Suleyman the Magnificent, who died in 1566 in Belgrade during a military campaign, was buried in his own tent. But that was not sufficient, and it was necessary to celebrate the funeral in Istanbul once again. The people had to participate, too, not only in the mourning of the death, but also in the pomp that initiated a new reign (Vatin and Veinstein 1996: 220, 222–25).

III. Funerals *in effigie*

This “second” funeral was celebrated with an *effigies*, an *imago* of the deceased, a totem. This is the most primitive aspect of these imperial funerals, perfectly intertwined with the Romans’ ancestral cult of the *imagines*.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, in his description of the funeral of Pertinax, Dio indicates that

a platform of wood next to the *Rostra* was set up on top of which they placed a baldachin with four columns, decorated in ivory and gold; inside they put a sarcophagus made from the same materials, with representations of marine and land animals and covered by purple and gold tapestries. And on top they put an image (*eidolon ti*) of Pertinax, dressed as a *triumphator*.¹¹

The text of Herodian, referring to the ceremony in honor of Septimius Severus, is a bit different. In the first place, he says that

first the corpse is buried and then they [the Romans] make an image of wax, identical to the deceased, and place it on top of an ivory couch, displayed on high in the atrium of the palace. Then, after seven days, they carry it along the *via sacra* and display it in the ancient Forum, in the place where the Roman magistrates used to lay down their duties [that is to say, the *Rostra vetera*].

The sequence of actions is different. The image of Pertinax was displayed first on the tribunal next to the *Rostra* (Dio); that of Severus, first on the Palatine and then on the *Rostra* (Herodian).

¹⁰ For the cult of the *imagines* in Roman society and culture, see Flower 1996.

¹¹ Dio 75.4. 2–5; cf. Gradel 2002: 282–86; Weinstock 1971: 361; Price 1987: 61.

The ceremonies begin either on the Palatine or already in the Forum, next to the *Rostra*. The participation of the people in both settings is constant: "the couch of the deceased was surrounded by people for most of the day [on the Palatine]," says Herodian (4.2.2). The *Rostra* was the place where, traditionally, the funeral *laudationes* were celebrated, going back to the Republican period. It is "the place which is most visible to all" (*oculatissimus locus*), says Cicero (*Phil.* 9.2.4). There, as Polybius says in his famous passage on the funerals of noble Romans (6.53–55), the body of the deceased, together with its adornment, is brought, normally placed on high until everyone sees it. What has taken place in the cases of Pertinax and Severus is a rite of "substitution" (Vernant 1990: 60–64, 71–75). Instead of the corpse, there was a wax image. To display a wax image of the deceased together with the corpse was customary in the public funerals of great figures. In the funeral of Sulla (78 BC), an image of his in cinnamon and incense was displayed next to the corpse, also on the *Rostra* (Plut. *Sull.* 38.3). In the funeral of Augustus, almost 100 years later, there was also displayed an image of his, in wax, dressed in triumphal attire; two other images of Augustus were also displayed, one of gold and the other in a triumphal chariot (Dio 56.34.1–2). And the corpse and the *imago* were displayed on the *Rostra*.

The images of Pertinax and Severus remained on view to all for seven days. During this period, both Dio and Herodian describe a singular and intriguing ceremony that takes place next to the *imago*: "A youth drove flies away from the *imago* of Pertinax with a fan made from the feathers of a peacock, as if the image were asleep" (Dio 75.4.3). The *imago* of Severus was visited for seven days by doctors who approached the couch pretending that they were examining a sick man, announcing each day that he was getting worse. "Then, when they see that he has died, they remove the image" (Hdn. 4.2.3–5). It was as if the *effigies* were the body of the emperor dying. This is a collective fiction, accepted by all as a ritual, a theatrical representation that is daily offered to the people during the period that precedes the *crematio*.

The custom of fanning corpses is attested iconographically already on some Etruscan reliefs.¹² And in the *Codex* of Justinian it is said that *domini pileati . . . vel in ipso lectulo stantes cadaver ventilare videntur* (7.6.5). It was a custom, therefore, that was normal in Roman ritual. In our case, this was done with the *imagines* instead of a corpse, but in precisely the same manner. Weinstock considers this to be an "obscure rite,"

¹² Arce 1988: 48, fig. 8.

and believes that it derives from the “old ceremonial of the Kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia,” kings who were accustomed to go about accompanied by fan-bearers (1971: 361, with n. 3). Weinstock concludes that the intention and significance of the ritual was to emphasize the “divinity of the dead ruler.” This is an exaggeration because, as I have said, it is not necessary to resort to obscure rites since the fanning of corpses was normal in Roman and Etruscan funerals. Fanning the corpse may have a natural explanation. To fan an *imago* is to reproduce an ordinary scene with realism. And that was the goal in the cases of Pertinax and Severus. But we can also find a more symbolic significance, if we wish. The act of fanning a corpse emphasizes its placid and tranquil state. Jerome, in one of his letters, mentions the fanning of a sick person as part of the concern over his health. Among the duties of a daughter of Saint Paula, a pilgrim among the Holy Places in the fourth century AD, there were particular duties that had to do with sick persons: seating her on the couch, supporting her head, and fanning her with a *flabellum* (Jer. Ep. 108.27). This is surely what the scene of the youth fanning the image of Pertinax meant. The emperor was sick, he was dying, and the youth with the fan made this explicit in a realistic manner. And this is all the more likely in light of the scene that Herodian describes with respect to the displayed *imago* of Severus.

Herodian says that “every day the doctors come and approach the couch, pretending that they are examining the sick man, and every day they announce that he is getting worse. Then, when they see that he has died, the most noble men lift the couch and remove it” (4.2.4). This is indeed an “obscure rite” for the Roman world. I have not found any similar case nor any antecedent in all the descriptions of funerals. Clearly we are again moving in the world of fiction, of dramatic representation. In this funeral of substitution it is necessary to represent the death of the emperor in order to be able to proceed afterwards to his *crematio*. In any case the ritual is intimately related to the Roman cult of the *imagines*.

But it is clear that we are not talking about *imagines maiorum*. The *effigies* of Pertinax or Severus (and, earlier, those of Augustus or Sulla) do not belong to the *imagines maiorum* that were displayed in the funeral procession and placed next to the corpse during the *laudatio funebris*. They are instead an *eidolon* which represents the absent. But the Romans included the *imagines* in their cults as if they were something alive. On the occasion of public sacrifices the cabinets in which the images of the ancestors of the house were kept (*armaria*) were opened and they were adorned with great care (*philotimos*, as Polybius says: 6.53.6). On great occasions the images were made to participate as if they were alive and present. And on the occasion

of public sacrifices the images participated just like any other member of the family or house. These occasions are the *feriae publicae* in which the sacrifices and religious rites are celebrated as a religious imperative: they are the *dies deorum causa institui*, as Varro explains (*LL* 6.12). It may be that it is to this same idea of the living image that the ritual of doctors attending the sick image corresponds.

If indeed it is true that we do not have antecedents of this type of ceremonial in the Roman world, we do have similar ceremonies much later, in the funerals of kings of the European courts of the sixteenth century. Describing the funeral of king Francis I of France (who died in 1547), for example, Pierre du Chastel, a contemporary, says that

a life-sized effigy of the king was placed in the vestibule of the palace, after the corpse of flesh and bone was taken away, which was exhibited for ten days. The effigy wore the imperial crown, a scepter, and the *main de justice*. During this time the image was attended to as if it were a living king: the officials set the table after the bread was divided, and meat and other dishes were brought out. The waiter offered a napkin in order to clean the hands of his *Seigneur* (that is to say, of the king *in effigie*).¹³

There exist many other examples studied magisterially by Kantorowicz in his book *The King's Two Bodies*, and by Giesey on the ceremonials of European kings in which the displayed *imago* of the king appeared, treated as if it were a living being. Both authors admit the possible influence of Herodian's text on these ceremonies, but they categorically reject the idea that in the Roman ceremonies there was anything similar to the theory of the two bodies of the king or monarch. The ceremonies may be similar, but the content and significance is different. And although Kantorowicz finds antecedents and parallels to the theory of the two bodies of the king in the classical world (in Aristotle and in the pseudo-Pythagoreans who wrote treatises "On Kinship," like Ecphantus), he himself decided "to carry on this research in order to determine the parallels and eventual influences of the classical world on the process of elaboration of this political theology that forms part of Christian, but not pagan, political theology" (1957: 466, 470). Describing the custom, which appeared in England in 1327, of placing on top of the coffin "the royal representation or a figure *ad similitudinem regis*," Kantorowicz comments:

the effigy exhibited the insignia of sovereignty: crown, scepter, orb [recall that the *imago* of Pertinax was dressed with triumphal vestments]. Inside the lead coffin (enclosed in one of wood) there was the normal natural body; but his political body, normally invisible, was shown in a visible form, mediating the effigy with

¹³ Kantorowicz 1957: 392–96, 397–400; see also Giesey 1960.

its attributes: a fictive person – the effigy – personified another fictive person – *Dignitas* – because *dignitas non moritur*. (1957: 393)

But there is a big difference, Kantorowicz concludes, between the significance of this and that of the funerals of Roman emperors, simply, among other reasons, because “the Romans did not elaborate a body of doctrine which could bear such a political theory” (1957: 400).

Whittaker, in his Loeb edition of Herodian, indicates in a note referring to the funeral of Pertinax that “the custom of using the *effigies* for a royal burial ceremony responded to the demands of hygiene, since the body had to be exposed for seven days” (1969: 376–77). But this explanation is not valid in the case of the funerals *in effigie* of Severus and Pertinax, since their bodies were already buried (and in the case of Severus, already cremated).

IV. The *imago* as a substitute

We are dealing simply with an example of “substitution.” This custom of substituting an *imago* for the body of the deceased was already very ancient in Rome. For example, Tacitus, speaking about the death of Germanicus (who, as is well known, was poisoned in Antioch in AD 19, the victim of a conspiracy), says that “it was necessary, in light of the duration of the trip [to bring him to Rome], to burn his body at any cost since he was in a foreign land”; but once they had arrived in Rome the historian complains bitterly, reproaching Tiberius on the grounds that the exhibition of the *effigies* on the platform, as was the ancient custom, had not taken place: *Ubi illa veterum instituta, propositam toro effigiem?* (“Where was the old custom of placing the image on top of the pedestal [to be seen by all])?” (*Ann.* 3.5.2).

We also have evidence from Rome of the custom of using substitute images to be the object of funerals for persons of lower status. The inscription of Lanuvium which regulates the organization and life of a *collegium funeraticium* contains, among other things, a passage which especially interests us here: “If a slave,” it says, “who belongs to the *collegium* dies, and if his master or mistress unjustly refuses to bring his body to be buried, and if the slave has not left precise instructions, let him have a *funus* with his fictitious body (*ei funus imaginarium fiet*).”¹⁴ The *funus imaginarium* is not, therefore, peculiar or exclusive to emperors. I believe that the *funus imaginarium* to which the law of Lanuvium refers is a *crematio* of the image which substitutes for the deceased in order that all the requirements of

¹⁴ CIL 14.2112 = ILS 7212; cf. commentary in Hopkins 1983: 213.

funerals be met. The funerary ritual must be completed in order to appease the *manes*: *manes placari ne noceant* (Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.63). It is significant that the law of Lanuvium is dated around AD 136, in the reign of Hadrian, which demonstrates the continuity of cremation at Rome at least until that period.

We also find antecedents of this ritual of substitution in the Greek world, above all in Sparta. Herodotus reports that “when a king of Sparta dies in war, they make a statue (*eidolon*) of him which they bring to the sepulcher in a richly adorned sarcophagus” (6.58.3). This concerns the death of a king whose corpse could not be recovered. One attested case was that of Leonidas, whose image was buried in Sparta even though his body had been seized by the Persians. In 359 BC the king Agesilaus died in Libya. In his biography Plutarch indicates that the Spartans who were accompanying him, since they did not have honey at their disposal, “placed the corpse on a mass of wax and brought it to Sparta” (*Ages.* 40). In the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, Xenophon tells us that Lycurgus decreed that the dead kings of Sparta be honored as “semi-gods” (*Lac.* 15.9). The translator of Xenophon’s *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* for the Loeb edition thinks that what was done with Agesilaus was to make a wax image of him, which was buried. It is possible, though the text of Plutarch does not allow us to be sure. Could we have here a remote antecedent of the Roman custom?

The *imago* or the *effigies* of the deceased is a form of retention. As Vernant has rightly noted, this substitute image is designated to produce nostalgic desire (*pothos*), an infinite memory of something that will never return, but something which one wishes to retain by symbolically substituting an image for it (1990: 39–40, 60–71).

V. The pyre and the eagle

Funeral ceremonies were initiated on the day on which it was announced that the emperor had died. In this respect they are not different from other similar ceremonies, except in the degree of pomp and in the popular representation of all spheres of society. The procession takes place with the *imagines* of the distinguished figures of Roman history, the choruses of boys and girls singing funeral songs, the presence of the army, of the associations, of the donations and offerings made by various people, destined to be burned in the pyre in order to accompany the deceased to the other world. One component that was different and peculiar to imperial funerals, which took place already in the funeral of Augustus, is the presence of images of

bronze with the representation of defeated and subdued cities, something peculiar to the triumphal procession and which alludes to the victorious character of the emperor (*funus triumpho simillimum*, as Seneca had said concerning the funeral of Drusus: *Cons. ad Marc.* 3.1). There was also a golden altar, decorated with precious ivories and stones from India. This is an extraordinary spectacle that makes the entire population participate. Next was the *laudatio funebris*—in the case of Pertinax delivered by Septimius Severus—and during the *laudatio* the reactions, regulated and of precise cadence, of the people and senators (Dio 75.5.1–2). Herodian omits this detail for the funeral of Severus, though it is possible that it was one of his sons who was in charge of delivering it, as was the tradition. And finally the *translatio cadaveris* from the Forum to the Campus Martius, the ancient site of burial for great figures from Sulla to Augustus, and the site also where the *crematio* of the corpses was carried out.

In this period near the end of the second century, the Campus Martius was still a site with spaces that were open and appropriate for cremation, even though the building programs of various emperors, especially Hadrian, had considerably reduced the space.¹⁵ The great pyre had already been prepared previously. The senators, as Dio says, secured for themselves a safe and comfortable place to witness the burning of the pyre and the image of Pertinax (and the same thing happened with Septimius Severus). And security was certainly necessary. After all, the thing that was going to be ablaze with unusual intensity was a tower of three stories made of wood and filled with other elements favorable to combustion: incense, fabrics (for the visual and sensory aspects of this process, see D'Ambra, this volume). Noy (2000a) has collected some facts about the quantity of combustible material utilized in pyres. Opinions vary between those who think that 1,000 kilograms of wood were employed, to those who say that only 186 kilograms were necessary. But the lower figure is valid only for pyres that were not as spectacular as those of Pertinax and Severus, and we have to think that much more was needed.

The pyre of Severus had four storeys, and that of Pertinax three. Herodian compares it with the lighthouses that illuminate harbors (4.2.8). On the second storey were placed the sarcophagus and the *imago*. It took place after the *decursio* around the pyre, and in the case of Severus “the successor to the empire [Caracalla, on this occasion] takes a torch and applies it to the tower.” In the case of Pertinax it was the consuls who lit the fire. The final act was the release of the eagle. In Dio’s description, the eagle flew to the sky from the pyre, but Herodian is more detailed: “From the smallest

¹⁵ Boatwright 1987: 33–73, 218–30; see also Boatwright’s chapter in this volume.

and last of the storeys, as if from a merlon, an eagle is released so that it soars to the sky with the fire" (4.2.11). That is to say, we have to think that on top of the wooden tower the eagle was enclosed in a sort of cage which is represented on some coins.

The presence of the eagle is also mentioned by Dio with reference to the funeral of Augustus. Dio and Herodian are the only authors who mention this aspect of imperial funerals. Neither Suetonius nor Tacitus mention it for the funeral of Augustus. And that has caused scholars to doubt the reality of the act.¹⁶ Dio and Herodian indicate that an eagle was released. Does this mean that the same thing was done in each and every one of the imperial ceremonies of *crematio*? When Dio refers to the eagle of Augustus' apotheosis, is he not transposing a recent or contemporary phenomenon to a ceremony of cremation that took place 200 years before? Why do neither Suetonius nor Tacitus make mention of it? In sum, one may ask if the description of the eagle's flight from the pyre does not correspond to a philosophical, ideological, or metaphorical explanation which established for the listener or reader the very fact of apotheosis. In another place I have defended the proposition that the descriptions of Herodian and Dio, insofar as they refer to the eagle, are explanatory and were occasioned for their reading publics, but do not necessarily correspond to an objective reality. Now I would be inclined to accept that the eagle formed part of the fictitious *mise-en-scène* of the whole ceremony of the funerals of Pertinax and Severus, like a sort of *deus ex machina* which brought the entire representation to its culmination. Even so, it is difficult for me to think of the poor animal put in a cage (which would have had to open from below with an infallible mechanism), and that it was not asphyxiated by the smoke and the flames. In favor of my idea that the flight of the eagle is nothing more than a symbolic discourse in the narrative of both authors is the fact that, as is well known, on the coins of the *consecratio* of the wives or feminine members of the imperial family, it is normal to find the representation of the peacock with the legend CONSECRATIO (Arce 1988: 139–40). On these coins the peacock is either quite alone or it transports the empress to the heavens. Does this mean that a peacock was released in the *crematio* of a *diva* in the same way as the eagle, which also appears on coins as a symbol of the *consecratio* of emperors? The problem is that peacocks do not fly very easily!¹⁷ Herodian completes his description of this ceremonial by saying, "after this ceremony the emperor is worshipped with the rest of the gods." And Dio: "after the flight of the eagle and the *crematio*, Pertinax was made immortal."

¹⁶ Arce 1988: 131–40; *contra* Gradel 2002: 291, n. 47 and 307–20.

¹⁷ Arce 1988: 131–40; cf. Gradel 2002: 307–20, following my arguments and conclusions.

VI. *Crematio* and *consecratio*

This brings us to the formulation of a key question: What is it that the *consecratio* determines? The fact of seeing the eagle rising to the heavens? All of the paraphernalia described? At the margin of the discussion, on which I cannot detain myself here, about whether the *consecratio* is decreed before or after the *funus*, I will say only that that which determines the *consecratio* of an emperor is the approval and decree of the senate. The *consecratio* is a religious and political act. Tertullian is peremptory about this matter: *vetus erat decretum ne quis deus ab imperatore consecraretur nisi a senatu probatus* (Apol. 5.1). The *consecratio* is the result of a decision of the senate. But in order for this to be possible, the cremation is the *conditio sine qua non*. This is confirmed by a text of Plutarch which refers to the burial of the ancestors on the part of their children but which, *pace* Gradel, is also applicable to the *divi*: "Once cremated, as soon as they find the ossified remains, they say that the deceased has acquired a divine nature" (*Quaest. Rom.* 14). The necessity of the *crematio* as a condition for deification explains the ceremonies described in Dio and Herodian for Pertinax and Severus. Lacking a real body, it was necessary to "cremate" the *effigies*. And in the case of the emperors, the public component and setting in Rome are equally essential. We have said that Pertinax was buried almost secretly and we do not know if he was cremated. Severus had been cremated in Britannia for practical reasons, as were Germanicus and Trajan, since they died far from Italy. But their deification demanded a ceremony of public *crematio*, with the attendance of the greatest possible number of witnesses.¹⁸

Cremation, a prerequisite for the deification of Roman emperors, is independent of the introduction in Rome, progressively after the second half of the second century AD, of the custom of inhumation. The fundamental act of the *funus publicum* offered to the ruler, the supreme leader, the commander of the armies, and his consequent declaration as a *divus*, is the social expression of a political crisis whose ceremonies also form part of a political drama in which all the people are implicated (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 122). It is for this reason, I believe, that the grand triumphal spectacle which was organized in Rome upon the return of Trajan's ashes from Cilicia was not exactly a posthumous triumph, but rather a *funus* in which his *imago*, which went in the procession in a chariot adorned with

¹⁸ Geertz 1980: 116–18 (talking about Balinese funerary ceremonies for the king): "the outstanding features of the cremation proper were three enormous outbreaks of symbolic energy – a social one, the procession; an aesthetic one, the tower; and a natural one, the fire." That can be applied perfectly to the Roman ceremony.

the *vestis triumphalis*, also had to be burned. There is a relief in the museum of Palestrina in which the scene is represented.¹⁹ In another place I have suggested that it is likely that the emperor Constantine I, who was declared a *divus* by the senate of Rome, as shown on coins from western mints (not eastern ones), also had in Rome, after his burial in Constantinople, a *funus imaginarium*.²⁰ Earlier, some coins of Constantius Chlorus from the mint of Trier still show the pyre on the reverse, in the form of a tower or lighthouse, and the legend DIVUS.²¹ The recent discoveries in Gamzigrad, in Serbia, the ancient Romuliana, have exposed the existence of the Mausolea of Galerius and possibly that of his mother, and, not very far away, on the hill of Magula, the *ustrina* for the *crematio*. Galerius was also declared a *divus*, and as a result, the building known as the Mausoleum of Galerius in Salonica probably ought to be identified now as a “Pantheon.” All of this reinforces the hypothesis that the *crematio* continued being utilized for emperors who were deified at least down to the second half of the fourth century.²²

And finally, what was this ceremony called that Dio witnessed and that he and Herodian describe in detail in the cases of Pertinax and Septimius Severus? The sources give three definitions. Before beginning his description of the funeral ceremonies of Septimius Severus, Herodian says, “This ceremony takes the name of apotheosis” (4.2.1). Herodian felt it necessary to explain to his eastern public, before his *excursus*, what the thing was called that he was going to recount. And so, strictly speaking, we can say that the apotheosis is the whole ensemble of ceremonies that culminate in the *crematio* (of the corpse or of the *imago*). After, or in some cases before, the declaration of *divus*, comes the *consecratio*.

VII. *Funus imaginarium et censorium*

We have seen before that the *Historia Augusta* calls the funeral of Pertinax a *funus imaginarium et censorium*. Among the great variety of funeral ceremonies which we have verified in Rome and which have a specific epithet in the various sources (*funus militare*, *funus acerbum*, *funus publicum*, *funus*

¹⁹ Arce 2000a: 55–69; Gradel 2002: 292, n. 48. Musso 1987 considers the Palestrina relief as a representation of the “pompa trionfale di Traiano”; Kierdorf 1986b: 147–56 argues that Trajan never received a *funus publicum* (but see Gradel *ibid.*; see also Ensoli 2000b: 125–27).

²⁰ Arce 2000b, and Arce 1988: 167–68; but see, *contra*, Cameron and Hall 1999: 349. Consecration coins of Constantine: Bruun 1954; Koep 1958.

²¹ Arce 1988: 146, fig. 54, and 165.

²² On Romuliana and Magula and the *ustrina* founded there see Srejić 1993, 1995.

indictivum, funus privatum, funus plebeium, vulgare funus), the *funus imaginarium* is clearly the *funus* which is conducted with an *effigies* when the corpse is not present. This is the case with Pertinax and Severus. But why did the funeral of Pertinax warrant being qualified also as a *funus censorium*? Some scholars think that already in the period in which the author of the *Historia Augusta* writes, *funus censorium* is equivalent to *funus sollemne, funus regium, or funus imperatorium*, the most spectacular of all.²³ Others think that in the *funus censorium* the corpse was permitted to be buried with the attire particular to the censors (with the *toga praetexta*), or because the deceased had undertaken the duties of censor in life (as was the case with Augustus, who had expressed his wish to be buried with the attire of the censor: Wesch-Klein 1993: 39). But in the *Fasti Ostienses* it is said both about Marciana and Faustina the Elder that they were granted a *funus censorium*, with the result that all the earlier interpretations are untenable (Vidman 1982: 48, 50). Wesch-Klein has proposed an intermediate solution: the funeral which involved great solemnity and in which the deceased was dressed in purple (or at least had some element of purple in his dress, as the censors had) was called a *funus censorium*. Marciana and Faustina had the honor of a *funus censorium* precisely for their purple clothing as members of the imperial family. And in our case, Pertinax – or, better, the image of Pertinax, as Dio says explicitly – was dressed in triumphal attire, also of purple. This could be the explanation why the funeral *censorium* was also called a funeral *imaginarium et censorium* (Wesch-Klein 1993: 40).

VIII. Conclusions

The ceremonies that we have analyzed must have been very expensive in economic terms. Not only the wood, but also the perfumes, the objects of bronze and ivory, the statuettes of gold (or gilt), the triumphal chariot, and the offerings to the corpse required a preparation of weeks and a considerable expenditure. But the entire expense was borne by the public treasury. In these ceremonies the entire Roman people participated, and still in the third century AD they allowed themselves to be convinced by the theatrical paraphernalia that was offered before their eyes and to accept the fiction of the *funus imaginarium*. The result, therefore, was that imperial funerals became a grand theatrical representation, an act in which many other peoples and cultures participated at the time of celebrating death,

²³ See Wesch-Klein 1993: 38–40; Chastagnol 1994: 272, n. 4.

and that even today remain in the ceremonial of public funerals for great or ruling figures.²⁴ The ceremony of the imperial funerals *in effigie* in Rome is perhaps the most spectacular of all the ceremonies in which the emperor in the city was the object, even though he was dead and his wax image had already been made. And they are no more than the expression of a ritual religion “in which the very content of the religion goes no further than the correct and precise development of the ceremony.” As Scheid has recently emphasized, “to want to find in Roman funerary cult beliefs which have developed progressively as a result of neoplatonic or Christian theories seems illusory. Death, among the Romans, was a matter of rites, including when it pertained to emphasizing the exceptional status of the deceased” (2005: 208).

²⁴ As has been the case in the funerals of Pope John Paul II, Diana, Princess of Wales, King Baudouin of Belgium, Stalin, Mao, Kennedy, and so on.

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Index

“acceptance” *see* monarchy, Roman

adventus 40

Adventus relief in Palazzo dei Conservatori
see Piazza Sciarra reliefs
of Nero in 66 287

Amphitheatrum Flavium *see* Flavian
Amphitheater

Antius Quadratus, C.
statues of in Pergamum 101–04

Antoninus Pius

Arch of near Hadrianeum *see* Piazza Sciarra
reliefs
Column of 189–91
restores bridges and regulates banks of Tiber
181–82
restores Temple of Deified Augustus 180–81

Antonius Pallas, M.
tomb of, on via Tiburtina 105

apotheosis 304
cremation necessary for 320–21
of Heracles, as model for imperial
apotheosis 298–99
symbolized by flight of eagle from pyre
318–19
see also funeral, imperial; pyre, imperial

Ara Pacis Augustae 119–22
contrasted with compital altars 123–24

Arch of Septimius Severus *see* Septimius
Severus, Arch of

architects and artists, Roman 46

Argentarii, Arch of 128

Arrian *see* Flavius Arrianus

Augustus

changes in ceremony of triumph under
91–94, 268–70
imperium of, after settlement of 19 bc
266–67, 271–72
overhauls administration of city 5
portraits of, from Samos 115–18
Prima Porta statue of 260–66, 271–72
“restores” *res publica* 91
statue of set up in Pantheon 262–63
Temple restored by Antoninus Pius 180–81
see also Ara Pacis Augustae

Aurelius, Marcus

bearded portrait type of 240
Column of 191–96

see also Aurelius, Marcus, Arch of

Aurelius, Marcus, Arch of 183–86
location 185–86
panel reliefs from 183–85

Aurelius Victor 202–03

auspices *see* triumph

baths, imperial 61–66

increasing size of 61–63
as meeting places for different social groups
63–65
as sites for engagement with Greek *paideia*
18–19, 65–66

Bernoulli, J. J. 223n.6

buildings for public entertainment
66–75

contrasted with modern amusement parks
86–87
as permanent, “representative” structures
85

religious context of 74

seating capacity in 84n.43, 84–85

as sites for communication between
emperors and subjects 282

see also Circus Maximus; Pompey, Theater
of; Flavian Amphitheater

Caesar *see* Julius Caesar, C.

Calpurnius Piso, Cn.

house between Arx and Quirinal
99–103

Campus Martius 14, 52–54

ground level raised by Hadrian 186–87
as site for imperial funerals 318
see also Campus Martius, Antonine
monuments in; Pompey, Theater of

Campus Martius, Antonine monuments in
186–96

consecration altars 187–89, 307

see also Antoninus Pius, Column of;
Aurelius, Marcus, Column of

- Celsus
 library of, in Ephesus 99–103
 ceremonial *see* ritual
 de Certeau, M. 12
 Christianity/Christians *see* Nero; Constantine
 Cicero *see* Tullius Cicero, M.
 Circus Flaminius 138–40
 Circus Maximus 68–70, 303
 restored by Constantine 216
 Colosseum *see* Flavian Amphitheater
 compital altars
 contrasted with Ara Pacis 123–24
 erected by *vicomagistri* 122–23
 Concordia, Temple of
 exterior decoration of 162–65
 history prior to Tiberius' restoration 167
 podium and cella 162, 164
 statuary from 166–67
 Constantine
 emulates Maxentius in role as urban benefactor 217–19
 LIBERATOR URBIS SUAE coin type of 217–18
 Maxentian origins/phases of buildings ascribed to 202–05
 pragmatic continuity of with regime of Maxentius 206–08, 217–19
 view of as Christian emperor in older scholarship 205–06
 see also Constantine, Baths of, Constantine, Basilica of; Circus Maximus
 Constantine, Basilica of
 Constantinian phase of 208–11
 Maxentian origins of 202–03
 Constantine, Baths of, on Quirinal
 possible Maxentian origins of 204–05
 Cornelius Balbus, M. 91–92
 Cornelius Fronto, M.
 on Roman plebs' attachment to *annona* and *spectacula* 83–84
 Cornelius Sulla, L.
 dominance of reflected in statuary throughout Rome 90
 funeral of 305
 cremation *see* apotheosis
 culture, Greek
 in city of Rome 7, 18–19, 59–61, 65–66, 74, 155–56
 Curia Pompeii *see* Pompey, theater of
- Eck, W. 10
 Ellul, J. 33
 emperor, *effigies* of
 contrasted with *imago maiorum* 314–16
 funeral in *effigie* as *funus imaginarium* 321–22
 Greek antecedents of 316–17
 as substitute for corpse 25–26, 312–13, 316–17
 treated symbolically as dying body of emperor 313–14
 see also funeral, imperial
 emperor, portraits of 27, 29–32
 ancient conception of portrait “type” 226–28
 dating and identification of 229n.30, 228–32
 distribution of in provinces 114n.7, 234–35
 Einzelstücke (“unique pieces”) 232–34
 in Greek East 114–19, 238–39
 occasions for creation of new portraits 29, 228–29, 231–32
 rarely intended as programmatic statements 230
 as reflection of emperor's *persona* 112–14
 relationship with portraits of private persons 235–41
 scholarly approaches to 223–26
 surviving examples mostly from provinces 222
 workshop production of 234–35
 see also individual emperors/empresses; emperor, *effigies* of
 emperor, Roman
 competition with predecessors 8, 80, 81–82
 dual role as magistrate and supreme ruler 75–77
 omnipresence through images 24–26, 221
 relationship with *plebs urbana* 6–8, 78, 83–84, 282, 283, 287–88
 relationship with praetorian guard 286–87
 relationship with senate/senators 8–11, 284–85 (*see also* senators, Roman)
 see also individual emperors; monarchy, Roman
 Epaphroditus
 tomb of on Esquiline 105
- Faustina the Elder, Diva, Temple of 177–80
 publicizes model imperial marriage and reflects Rome's “inward turn” 179–80
 senate's involvement in cult and building 178

- Faustina the Younger, portraits of
as unique example of specifically
commissioned types 231
- Finley, M. 3
- Flavian Amphitheater 70–72
- Flavius, Arrianus
on Hadrian's statue in Trapezus 118–19
- Forum of Augustus 16–17, 94, 254n.21,
273–74
- Forum Romanum 14–15, 177–80
see also Concordia, Temple of; Constantine,
Basilica of; Faustina the Elder, Diva,
Temple of; Romulus, Temple of;
Septimius Severus, Arch of
- Foucault, M. 12
- Fronto *see* Cornelius Fronto, M.
- funeral, imperial 40, 298–99
compared to Ottoman royal funeral
312
- Dio and Herodian as sources for 309–10
- funeral *in effigie* as *funus imaginarium*
321–22
- Historia Augusta* as source for 310
- importance of for political succession and
legitimacy 310, 311–12
- as public ceremony 322–23
- sequence of events in 301–02, 317–18
- see also* apotheosis; emperor, *effigies* of; pyre,
imperial
- Geertz, C. 39
- Griffin, M. 7
- Hadrian
bearded portrait type of 239–40
- raises ground level in Campus Martius
186–87
- statue of in Trapezus 118–19
- see also* Hadrianeum
- Hadrianeum 171–74
design and dimensions 171–72
- “province” reliefs from 172–74
- see also* Piazza Sciarra reliefs
- Hercules Musarum, Temple of *see* Circus
Flaminius
- Hölscher, T. 32
- Horatius Cocles
statue of 253–54
- Hut of Romulus 19
- imperial fora 15–16, 50–52
display of Greek art in 59–61
- see also* porticoes
- de imperio Vespasiani, lex* 254n.21, 273–74
- imperium see* Augustus; Julius Caesar, C.; *de
imperio Vespasiani, lex*
- Julius Caesar, C.
cuirassed statue of 250–60
- as dictator, wields *imperium* within
pomerium 259–60
- Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Temple of on
Capitoline 136
- Kantorowicz, E. 25, 315–16
- Lactantius
description of Diocletian's reception in
Rome in AD 304 200
- Lefebvre, H. 12, 22
- legitimacy *see* monarchy, Roman; funeral,
imperial
- liberalitas*, imperial
as form of “cultural patronage” 47, 65–66,
73–74, 85–86
- Lucius Verus *see* Verus, Lucius
- marble, colored 80–81
- Marius Maximus
villa of, on Caelian 99–103
- Mars, Temple of
between Flavian Amphitheater and Circus
Maximus 135
- Maxentius
public building and benefactions of in Rome
201–02
- rise to power of 200–01
- Maximian
besought to come to Rome in panegyric of
AD 289 200
- Metellus, porticus of *see* Circus Flaminius
- Mommsen, T. 277–80
- monarchy, Roman
“acceptance” and legitimacy of 275–82
- contrasted with Ottoman monarchy 279
- problem of succession and usurpation in
279–80
- Mommsen and (il)legitimacy of 277–80
- Weberian notion of legitimacy
inappropriate to 276–77
- Nero
adventus of in 66 287
- creates *Augustani* to applaud him in public
283–84
- divorces Octavia 285

- Nero (*cont.*)
 executes Rubellius Plautus after appearance
 of comet portending end of reign 284–85
 fall of 282–88
 and Pisonian conspiracy 286–87
 scapegoats Christians for fire of 64 285–86
 unsuccessfully calls for *dilectus* of urban
 plebs after revolt of 68 275–82
 Nonius Balbus 99–103
- Octavia
 divorced by Nero 285
 Octavia, Porticus of *see* Circus Flaminius
ornamenta triumphalia see triumph
- Palatine Hill 14, 101, 104
 Pallas *see* Antonius Pallas, M.
 Panofsky, E. 35
 Piazza Sciarra reliefs 174–77
 Pisonian conspiracy 286–87
plebs urbana see emperor: relationship with
plebs urbana
- Pliny the Younger
 criticizes Pallas' tomb on via Tiburtina 105
 Panegyric (*gratiarum actio*) to Trajan
 131–33
 public buildings in Comum 99–105
pomerium 247–49, 259–60, 267, 271–74
 Pompeius Magnus, Q. *see* Pompey
 Pompey
 triumph of in 62 bc 136
- Pompey, Theater of
 choice of location 141–42
 exterior materials and adornments 153–54
 external arcades 148–49
 foundations and interior design 142–48
 garden peristyle and Curia Pompeii 152–53
 as product of patronage, wealth, and
 architectural expertise 17–18, 157–60
scaenae frons 149–51
 statuary from 155–56
 Temple to Venus Victrix in 149
- porticoes 48–61
see also imperial fora
- Praetorian Guard 286–87
 “propaganda” 33n.55, 33–37, 111–12
- pyre, imperial
 burning of 304–08, 318
 compared to Hellenistic monumental pyres
 296–97
 compared to a lighthouse by Herodian 303
 compared to private pyres 299
 depicted on coins 291
- exterior decoration of 294–96, 297–98,
 299–300
 as focal point of imperial funeral rites
 302–03
 general characteristics of 293–94
 interior of 303–04
 olfactory effect when burned 304–05
 release of eagle from metaphorical/
 discursive, not literal 318–19
see also apotheosis; funeral, imperial
- representation
 and communication 34–37
 and “propaganda” 33n.55, 33–34
 and visibility 34–37
- ritual
 cognitive/psychological dimension of
 42
 movement of time in 290
 otherworldly atmosphere in 304–05
 scholarly approaches to 37–39, 43
rogus see pyre, imperial
- Rome, city of
 administration of 4–5
 Antonine period, general characteristics
 169–71, 196–97
 fire of 64 in 285–86
 under Maxentius 201–02
 military presence in 5, 248–49
 scholarship on Augustan period 2, 2n.6
 temporary buildings and “fugitive”
 cityscape in 289–90
 under Tetrarchy 199–200
- Rome, politics in
 competition between aristocratic families
 under Republic 89–90
 dynastic succession and usurpation under
 monarchy 279–80
 “relevant political sectors” in 280
 transition from republic to monarchy 4,
 5–6, 11, 77–78, 91, 249
- Romulus, Temple of in Forum
 Constantinian phase of 213–14
 Maxentian phase of 211–13
- Rose, C. B. 225
- Rowe, G. 7
- Rubellius Plautus
 executed by Nero 284–85
- senators, Roman
domus of in Rome 99–105
 honorific monuments for in private sphere
 in Rome 95–98

- honorific monuments for in public sphere
 - in Rome 94–95
- honorific monuments for in public sphere
 - outside of Rome 98–102
- monumental tombs of in/near Rome
 - 105–06
- monumental tombs of outside of Rome
 - 106–10
- trapezophoros* monuments for 96–98
 - see also* emperor, Roman: relationship with senate/senators
- Sennett, R. 12
- Septimius Severus, Arch of
 - in Forum Romanum 127–28
 - in Lepcis Magna 128–30
 - see also* Argentarii, Arch of
- Soja, E. 12, 20
- space
 - notion of *Bildräume* 20–21, 21n.37
 - scholarly approaches to 11–13
- statues
 - of Augustus and Agrippa, in Pantheon 262–63
 - of Augustus, from Prima Porta 260–66
 - of Hadrian, from Trapezus 118–19
 - of Horatius Cocles 253–54
 - of Julius Caesar, cuirassed 250–60
 - of Sulla, reflecting his political dominance 90
 - under Republic 90
 - require imperial approval to be erected in public spaces in Rome 95
 - statua triumphalis* 93–94
 - see also* Concordia, Temple of; Pompey, Theater of
- Sulla *see* Cornelius Sulla, L.
- Tabularium 136
- temple complexes, Italic 137–38
- Templum Pacis 59, 60
- Thamugadi
 - senatorial and imperial monuments juxtaposed in 101, 104
- Tiber river
 - banks of regulated by Antoninus Pius 181–82
- Torlonia relief *see* Piazza Sciarra reliefs
- trapezophoros* monuments *see* senators, *trapezophoros* monuments
- triumph 40
 - and *auspicia* 268–69, 269n.62
 - changes under Augustus 91–94, 268–70
 - ornamenta triumphalia* 93
 - of Pompey in 62 bc 136
 - under Republic 89
 - statua triumphalis* 93–94
- Tullius Cicero, M.
 - house on Palatine 101–04
- Venus and Roma, Temple of
 - Constantinian phase of 214–15
 - restored by Maxentius 201–02
- Venus Victrix, Temple *see* Pompey, Theater of
- Verus, Lucius
 - Arch of 182–83
 - bearded portrait type of 240
- Veyne, P. 6, 34–37, 46, 280–82
- vici see* compital altars
- Vitellius
 - changes to civic attire before entering Rome 272–74
- Weber, M. 276–77
- Yavetz, Z. 6
- Zanker, P. 20–21, 34–37, 237